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WRITINGS OF THE REVEREND WILLIAM TENNENT, 1740-1777

Edited by NEWTON B. JONES

(Continued from July)

Historic remarks on the session of Assembly began
to be holden Tuesday, September 17th, 1776
by William Tennent

The proper number to constitute a house was not made the first day. On the second, the Speaker took the chair, and a letter of resignation from Mr. T . . . y, the Clerk, was read, importing that as he had been chosen a representative for Charleston [*sic*], and some gentlemen thought the duties of a member incompatible with those of a Clerk, he determined that no emolument of office should prevent his serving his country, and therefore declined serving as Clerk of the House. The petitions of some to come into office, and the views of others to get out the present clerk had nearly carried the point, but by the intervention of a few friends, he kept both his seat and office, the House resolving that this should not be a precedent.⁴⁴

But few members from the distant Districts, owing partly to the Indian War in which they are engaged and on actual duty, and partly to that indolence by which it is easy to foresee the interest of those Districts will always suffer. So many circumstances concur to give the capitol and adjacent Parishes the advantage in representation, that there is great danger that the government of this state in time will degenerate into an oligarchy. The House so impoverished by the pillage for the Legislative Council and the General Congress, that not more than four were found to speak upon most of the debates.⁴⁵

Business of the session opened by a speech of the President. The principal object seems to be the tribute of praise to the troops which defended Sullivan's Island, and a proper militia law. The speech and a number of papers committed to large committees.⁴⁶ The former soon

⁴⁴ Peter Timothy's letter of resignation as clerk is in Salley, ed., *JGA*, 1776, pp. 4-5.

⁴⁵ Under the Constitution of 1776 the thirteen members of the Legislative Council were elected from the General Assembly.

⁴⁶ Tennent was a member of the committee to which President John Rutledge's speech of Sept. 19 was referred. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

echoed back and contains a promise of principal attention to the militia,⁴⁷ the latter by several motions agreed to, were by degrees taken out of the hands of the committee, and some never came in again owing to the hurry of the chairman.⁴⁸ A committee mostly of militia men were ordered to bring in a bill repealing the former and framing a new militia law suited to our emergencies.⁴⁹ It sat long and frequently while other business was transacting, and late in the session brought in a bill of 50 odd paragraphs, perhaps the most complete for the purposes of strengthening and defending so weak a state that ever was penned. But that which too probably will prove the ruin of this state, proved the ruin of the bill. The lazy and the deep-pocketed gentry found that the principle of the bill operated to bring them into action, as well as the poor, by proportioning the penalties to the estates which were to be defended, and therefore they revolted in a body, and having at first *tarred and feathered* the bill by all the arts in their power, they coincided with a motion for postponing that (which had already come in too late) to a time, after which, it could not be considered or amended; and by this stratagem the bill was lost, and the safety of this state probably lost with it.⁵⁰

It appeared too plainly that the features of the House were not vigorous or determinate, and the nerves of the state were at the same time relaxed by the influence not only of the last summer's heat, but by the prevailing interest of a *certain member*, whose *lullaby* notes have uniformly endeavoured to put the people to sleep from the beginning of this contest, and whose mortification at the Declaration of Independence could not be suppressed. His opposition began and the metal of the House was first tried by the words (*unspeakable pleasure*)⁵¹ in

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-15. On Sept. 20, the committee reported a proposed reply to the President's speech; certain amendments were offered and the reply as approved by the House was printed in the *Journal*.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-32. The papers referred to consisted of resolutions of the Continental Congress, the Declaration of Independence, and letters from John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, and South Carolina's delegates.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33. The committee was appointed on Sept. 20.

⁵⁰ The bill was read for the first time on Oct. 10, and two days later a motion to delay the second reading was passed by a vote of forty-six to forty-two. On Oct. 15, the bill was killed. *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 110, 120.

⁵¹ The sentence was "It is with the most unspeakable pleasure we embrace this opportunity of expressing our Joy and Satisfaction in the Declaration of the Continental Congress declaring the United Colonies Free and Independent States . . ." The *Journal* here does not identify any individuals. The sentence as passed does not contain the words "the most" or "Joy and." *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.

the address of the House to the President. It was contended that the House should not express pleasure at an event of so serious and mournful a nature, that they ought rather to shew a mere acquiescence [rather] than a transport of joy. It was answered that tho' the occasion was mournful, yet the event was joyous, as it was the only security of America in the present struggle and an effectual guard against all future encroachments. That while this matter lay in debate, every moment was a moment of danger. That a bare acquiescence was a tacit reproach on so great an occasion, and would greatly discourage our delegates.

The decision of the question shewed that the House was more vigorous at first, than it was after it had felt the anodyne of this speaker's rhetoric for some weeks. The words stood. The next trial obtained him a greater number on the division, but still his designs were abortive. A petition came in from the son-in-law of John Stewart [Stuart] Esq., the Superintendent, praying that 30 Negroes of his estate now in the hands of the public should be given to him, the petitioner, according to the design of the said Stewart, as part of portion to his daughter, the wife of the petitioner. The petition was opposed because the design of Mr. Stewart was evidently subsequent to the detention of his estate by the colony as a security for his conduct with the savages, and the present appeared only an attempt to get back a part of an estate in effect already confiscated. The petition was thrown out.⁵²

The friends of decisive measures for the safety of the state, finding the House too much called by various accidents, and that there was little prospect of doing anything to purpose, privately concluded not to hear any political question of magnitude during the present session. The propriety of this conclusion was soon manifest, when on a question about importing flour from Philadelphia for the consumption of the army, such advantage was taken of the inclination of the planters to vend their rice, that a negative was put upon a motion for the importation of flour, notwithstanding it appeared that the bulk of any army we could collect from the northward for the defence of this state, must be of those who could not and would not live on rice.⁵³ The same in-

⁵² Stuart's estate was ordered held as a guarantee for the good conduct of the Indians in June 1775. Henry Laurens, Charles Town, June 23, 1775, to John Laurens, London, Vol. 8 (1774-1776), Henry Laurens Papers, South Carolina Historical Society. The recommendation that Fenwick, Stuart's son-in-law, be given the use, but not the ownership, of the thirty slaves, was not approved by the General Assembly. Salley, ed., JGA, 1776, pp. 41-43, 54-56.

⁵³ On September 28, a motion was made to purchase a vessel in Philadelphia and to load it with flour, ship bread, iron and steel, "upon account of this State." The House voted to delete flour from the items to be purchased. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

firmity also appeared upon a motion for altering the words of the qualifying oath of members, which still looked forward to an *accommodation*. The same member opposed, and the gross absurdity of swearing in members with an *oath of accommodation*, if I may so call it, even after a Declaration of Independence, was continued many days, until by an amendment to a bill for altering the oaths, etc., sent in by the Legislative Council, it passed to make the necessary alterations. No person in the House was willing before that to venture the question a second time.⁵⁴

The benefit of electing the executive appeared in the Court [course?] of the session by the President's asking advice of the House on every important measure, but in most cases it was referred back to his own discretion with the advice of Council. Among others of this nature was a long and well penned letter from General How[e] recommending many measures for the present and future defence of this state. They came in too late to do any good in the House.⁵⁵

Towards the close of the session a motion was made of real importance by General Gadsden. It was that the House should consider of some necessary amendments to the constitution, to be as it were recommendations to the next House.⁵⁶ A committee reported sundry; some of which seemed to pave the way for the greater influence of great families; others tended to prevent the continuance of the supreme power in one family.⁵⁷ On the question whether the Legislative Council should continue to be chosen by the members of Assembly out of their own members, or out of the people at large, the House refused to admit the election of that board by the Assembly out of the people at large, but on motion agreed that they be hereafter elected by the Parishes respectively.⁵⁸ By this means one avenue for family intrigue seems to be obstructed. It was unanimously agreed that the same person should not be eligible to the presidency within the first six years after he has

⁵⁴ The Constitution of 1776 originally provided that any person appointed to an office or place of trust should take an oath to support the Constitution of the State "until an accommodation of the differences between Great Britain and American shall take place. . . ." Later, recommendations were adopted deleting these words and approving other changes. *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 85-86, 105-106, 111, 118, 137.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-96, 99, 146-150.

⁵⁶ Gadsden was on the committee appointed on October 12 to recommend changes in the Constitution, but the *Journal* does not contain any reference to a motion that such a committee be appointed. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-119.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 132, 136.

served.⁵⁹ This is hardly digested by our ambitious people, but none dared oppose it openly.

The House divided upon the erection of a Chancellor and a court of appeals, but both passed.⁶⁰ The influence of the law department is too sensibly felt in the multiplication of places of this nature. The committee reported on exclusion of all preachers of the Gospel from any share in legislation [W T was the cause of this—too outspoken a Dissenter];⁶¹ and this in order to prevent religious disputes. The clause was ordered to be struck out of the report by a large majority, and leave given to bring in a bill for the amendment of the Constitution in several respects.⁶²

The only attempt against the privileges of the people that succeeded was that for the reduction of the representation. Advantage was taken of the disproportion[ate] and excessive number for Charleston [*sic*], and a vote was barely carried by the cast of the Speaker. It happened very unluckily that a member who had gone into the Speaker's chamber on a call of nature, was not quick enough in his operations to be present when the question was put, or the vote would have been on the other side.⁶³

Saturday, 18th [19th] October, 1776, this first session of the first House of Assembly in this state broke up by adjourning only for the sake of form to the next day, 6 O'clock P. M., when it was understood that there was not to be a House. It was alleged that the House had no power to dissolve itself, and that such a power ought not to exist anywhere but in the Constitution.

It accordingly lost its existence on Monday mor. 20th [21st] October.⁶⁴

[Taken from a manuscript of the
Revd. William Tennent]

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 134, 136.

⁶⁰ The *Journal* notes a debate on the proposal to appoint a chancellor, but not on the creation of a court of appeals. *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 134.

⁶¹ The material in brackets is a marginal note in the Tennent MSS. The handwriting is not that of Charles Tennent.

⁶² Salley, ed., *JGA*, 1776, pp. 118-119, 134, 137. There is some confusion in the references in the *Journal*, p. 134, to the committee report. Ministers were made ineligible for election to the legislature by the Constitution of 1778.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-118, 133-134, 136.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 153, note 1. The Constitution of 1776 provided that the Congress which had drawn up the Constitution should be called "the General Assembly of South Carolina, and as such shall continue until the twenty first day of October next and no longer."

The following PETITION OF THE DISSENTERS is alluded to in Mr. Tennent's Speech delivered in the House of Assembly, Charleston, South Carolina, January 11, 1777, and [was] drawn up by himself.⁶⁵

PETITION SETS FORTH

1st. That by virtue of the former connexion of this State with the Court of Great Britain there has been established by law and maintained a particular denomination of Protestants in distinction from and preference to all other denominations,⁶⁶ and that the whole charge for the support of it was borne equally by all denominations, although it is supposed that the other denominations were always the greater number of the inhabitants.⁶⁷

2nd. That by virtue of the same establishment an odious discrimination has been made, and the members of the Church of England has [*sic*] enjoyed divers privileges and immunities denied to the members of other churches.

3d. That this partiality in the disposition of the public favors has been the cause of continual discontent in the minds of many (perhaps the greater number) of the good people of this government, and in the opinion of your Petitioners lays a foundation for future discord and unhappiness.

4th. That religious liberty appears to your Petitioners the most valuable of all liberty and that the abridgment thereof in any respect whatever is not only injurious to the common rights of mankind, but tends to lay a foundation for perpetual discord and unhappiness; that it operates as a check upon the growth, opulence [*sic*], and power of any state where it takes place, and is especially hurtful to new countries.

5th. That your Petitioners cannot but consider an establishment of any one denomination by way of distinction from and preeminence to others (especially where the support of that denomination is to be borne by others and where others are deprived of the privileges which

⁶⁵ The only known copy of the Petition is in the Tennent MSS.

⁶⁶ For conditions existing when the Church of England was established in South Carolina by act of 1706, see Wallace, *Short History*, pp. 71-74.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 71, states that in 1704 both sides in the controversy reported that Dissenters were a majority of the population.

See also Chapman J. Milling, ed., *Colonial South Carolina: Two Contemporary Descriptions by Governor James Glen and Doctor George Milligen-Johnston* (Columbia, 1951), p. 87, and Howe, *Presbyterian Church*, I, 363. It is a safe assumption that the influx of settlers into the up country swelled the numbers of Dissenters.

it enjoys) as an abridgment of that free and equal liberty in religious matters that all good and healthy subjects of the state ought to be entitled to.

6th. That in the times when all our laws were submitted to the pleasure of a foreign power, the numerous other denominations were discouraged from making any applications for redress. But that now, by the providence of God, government has returned to its just and natural source and a constitution is framing with a view to perpetuate the freedom and quiet of the good people of this state; and there seems to be so good a disposition in men of all ranks to do equal justice to every part of the state, your Petitioners are encouraged to apply to the wisdom and justice of the Legislature for redress.

7th. And whereas it is possible that although the present Legislature might be disposed to grant relief in the premises, yet if the very frame of the constitution does not prevent it, some future legislature may be induced to abridge the liberties of some denomination of Christians in favor of a particular one. That the best security may be given against the encroachments of any one sect or denomination, whatever that the nature of the case will admit, and that the utmost freedom in religious matters may be perpetually maintained, your Petitioners humbly pray that there may be inserted a clause in the fundamental constitution of this state by which it shall be enacted, "That there never shall be any establishment of any one religious denomination or sect of Protestant Christians in this state by way of preference to another; that no Protestant inhabitant of this state shall by law⁶⁸ be denied the enjoyment of any civil right merely on account of his religious principles, but that all Protestants demeaning themselves peaceably under the government established by the constitution shall enjoy free and equal civil and religious privileges."

⁶⁸ Writing to Isaac Hayne on Jan. 18, 1777, Richard Hutson quotes a brief portion of the Petition which varies slightly from this manuscript. Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780* (New York, 1901), pp. 212-213, hereafter cited as McCrady, *History*.

⁶⁹ Tennent's Speech was first printed by Peter Timothy in Charles-Town in 1777. I have followed this source and used the copy in the South Caroliniana Library. The only other known copies are in the Library of Congress and the Wisconsin Historical Society. Turnbull, *Bibliography of South Carolina*, I, 211. The speech was printed a second time in 1815 in the appendix of Ramsay, *Independent Church*, pp. 53-71, but without the footnotes included in the 1777 edition.

Mr. Tennent's Speech on the Dissenting Petition, Delivered in the House of Assembly, Charles-Town, January 11, 1777⁶⁶

Preface

This speech would never have been sent to the press if it had not been earnestly and importunately desired by a large number of the members of the House, who thought that it might be of real service in allaying some animosity that, in their opinion, had arisen from a misunderstanding of the nature of the case. If another reason is needful, the author confesses that he was in some sense compelled to give up the copy by the misrepresentations that had been given of his words out of doors.

Mr. Speaker:

I am much concerned lest an unfavourable construction should be put upon any word that may fall from me in the course of this debate, as reflecting upon the respectable members of the Church of *England*. I wish, Sir, to be understood as bearing the gentlemen of that Church a very high respect. None that now exist have been the authors of that which we complain of. With the generosity of sentiment that now prevails, with the same enlightened minds, I am persuaded they never would have been the authors.

I dissent from the Church of *England*, it is true, but I trust it is upon the most liberal grounds. When I oppose its establishment, I do not mean to oppose the Church itself. I would equally oppose the establishment of any other, though I admired its constitution ever so much. I firmly believe that this petition arises from an unextinguishable love to the free and equal rights of mankind and not from a dislike to one denomination of Christians more than another. And Sir! while a love to freedom and equality is the grand sentiment that inspires all ranks of men in this great contest, while you feel an unconquerable spirit of freedom animating you to all these measures, how can you find in your heart to blame those who risque their all and stand with you in the foremost rank of zeal and danger, if they should only desire to secure to themselves and children the same privileges that you enjoy? You must pardon them if, sensible of the injuries that have been done them in times past while we mutually groaned under a foreign yoke and anxious for the complete freedom and happiness of their posterity, they should improve the important moment of forming a constitution for this most righteous purpose.

And now, Sir, I beg leave to offer a few of those reasons which induce me to oppose the religious establishment of any one denomination of Christians in this state under our new constitution.

1. My first and most capital reason against all religious establishments is that *they are an infringement of religious liberty*. Religious establishments, as far as they operate, do interfere with the rights of private judgment and conscience. In effect they amount to nothing less than the legislature's taking the consciences of men into their own hands and taxing them at discretion.

We contend that no legislature under heaven has a right to interfere with the judgment and conscience of men in religious matters, if their opinions and practices do not injure the state. The rights of conscience are now too generally understood to make it needful to take much pains to convince mankind that they appertain to a higher tribunal and that the objects of human legislation are quite of a different nature. The state may give countenance to religion by defending and protecting all denominations of Christians who are inoffensive and useful. The state may enact good laws for the punishment of vice and the encouragement of virtue. The state may do any thing for the support of religion, without partiality to particular societies or imposition upon the rights of private judgment. But when the legislative authority of the state sets itself up as a judge in church controversies and proceeds by law to declare *this* system of opinions right and *that* wrong; when it proceeds to lay hardships upon the professors of the one while it lavishes its bounties on the other, and that while both are equally useful and inoffensive—I say in this it not only mistakes the proper objects of legislation, but is chargeable with manifest injustice. No legislature upon earth has a right to do such a thing; nay, we contend, that such a right cannot possibly be communicated to them. I can communicate to my representative a power to dispose of part of my property for the security of the remaining part. I may give him a right to resign a part of my personal liberty to the obligation of good laws, as a means of preserving the rest, but cannot—I say it is out of my power to communicate to any man on earth a right to dispose of my conscience and to lay down for me what I shall believe and practice in religious matters. Our judgment and practice in religious matters is not like our purse; we cannot resign them to any man or set of men on earth; and therefore, no man or set of men on earth either has or can have a right to bind us in religious matters. The rights of conscience are unalienable and therefore all laws to bind it are *ipso facto* null and void. Every attempt of

this kind is tyranny let it be made by whatever body of men and in whatever age. Of all tyranny religious tyranny is the worst and men of true sentiment will scorn civil, where they cannot enjoy religious, liberty.

And now, Sir, permit me to take a short view of religious establishments and see whether they do not, more or less, bear hard upon the rights of private judgment and partake in greater or smaller degrees of this worst of tyranny. On all hands it will be acknowledged that those establishments are of this nature which lay heavy penalties upon those who refuse to conform to them. Can you form an idea of more horrid cruelty exercised upon the right of conscience than that which imposes fines, imprisonment and death upon those who presume to differ from the established religion? You, Sir! look back with horror upon the history of such savage cruelty, the more cruel as it has ever been exercised under the colour of law.

Of the same nature, though differing somewhat in the degree of their cruelty, are those establishments which incapacitate good subjects who differ from the speculative opinions of the state. Judgment and conscience in these matters is [*sic*], or *ought to be*, as independent of our will as our height or colour. They are formed by the circumstances of the time in which we live, by the manner of our education, by the capacity of our mind and the degree of evidence. Would not that prince be esteemed a cruel tyrant who should ordain that every man of six feet high and of a sandy complexion should be excluded from the rights of citizens? An assembly of two hundred senators who could ordain that good citizens should be deprived on account of their inoffensive opinions would be two hundred times as cruel.

2. The next kind of establishment that we meet with is that which now obtains in this state. I shall speak cautiously of it, but I shall take the liberty to speak freely and shall only mention facts. Its chief characteristics are that it makes a legal distinction between people of different denominations equally inoffensive; it taxes all denominations for the support of the religion of one; it only tolerates those that dissent from it, while it deprives them of sundry privileges which the people of the establishment enjoy.

I say it makes a legal and odious distinction between subjects equally good. The law knows and acknowledges the society of the one as a Christian church; the law knows not the other churches. The law knows the clergy of the one as ministers of the gospel; the law knows not the clergy of the other churches, nor will it give them a license

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to marry their own people.⁷⁰ Under this reputedly free government licenses for marriage are even now refused by the Ordinary to any but the established clergy. The law makes provision for the support of one church; it makes no provision for the others. The law builds superb churches for the one; it leaves the others to build their own churches. The law, by incorporating the one church, enables it to hold estates and to sue for rights; the law does not enable the others to hold any religious property, not even the pittances which are bestowed by the hand of charity for their support. No dissenting church can hold or sue for their property at common law. They are obliged therefore to deposit it in the hands of trustees, to be held by them as their own private property and to lie at their mercy. The consequence of this is that too often their funds for the support of religious worship get into bad hands and become either alienated from their proper use or must be recovered at the expence of a suit in chancery.

These are important distinctions indeed, but these are not all. The law vests the officers of the Church of England with power to tax not only her own people but all other denominations within the bounds of each respective parish for the support of the poor—an enormous power which ought to be vested in no one denomination more than another. Greater distinctions still—where there are parishes the law throws the whole management of elections, the most inestimable of all the rights of freemen, into the hands of church officers exclusively.⁷¹

And why all this inequality? Why does the law thus favour one and bear hard upon every other denomination of Christians? The reason is only to be found in the spirit of the times when this unequal establishment was framed and in the Machiavelian policy of the British government, which ought not any longer to take place in this country.

But that which shews much of the injustice and oppression of the present establishment is the tax which it makes all other denominations pay to the support of the religion of one. It puts its hand into the pocket of nine denominations, all equally pretending to the merit of good subjects and citizens, to bestow upon one and support its dignity. Sirl is this consistent with our first notions of justice and equality? And here it matters not whether the religious tax is equally levied upon

⁷⁰ Tennent noted on Aug. 19, 1776, that the Ordinary's Office refused "to direct" a marriage license to the Rev. Moses Allen on the grounds he was a Dissenter. The application was made by Hawkins Martin. Tennent MSS.

⁷¹ An act of 1716 stated that church wardens in each parish should issue writs for the election of members of the Commons House of Assembly and that they were to manage the elections. *South Carolina Statutes*.

the people at large or whether it is paid by a general duty. The treasury is the equal property of all denominations in the state, and if it comes out of the treasury, it comes in effect out of their pocket.⁷² [The only difference is that in the one case the imposition would be so open that the most ignorant would know and feel it; in the other it is more sly and concealed from the vulgar eye. We admire the policy of this measure more than its justice. But it ought to be known that by law the moment the treasury ceases to pay the clergy, the inhabitants are to be assessed for their support.]⁷³

The sums advanced by the treasury for the support of the Church of England within the space of the last ten years preceeding the 31st of December 1775 amount to 164,027 £ 16s. 3d. The expence of the year 1772 only was 18,031 £ 11s. 1d. [I have not been able to satisfy myself in computing the expence of the establishment from its beginning to the present day, but am convinced from a specimen of thirty years that it would hardly be credited.] The religious estate now in the actual possession of the Church of England, drawn more or less from the purses of all denominations by law, would probably sell for three hundred and thirty thousand pounds. [This computation was made at a low rate, perhaps too low. The author would be glad to be corrected in his estimate by an abler hand who is possessed of better materials. It is said that a great part of this estate came by private benefactions. I find, however, the sum of 33,656 £ given from the treasury to the Church of St. Michael in Charles-Town before the end of 1753, of which 3,500 £ is expressly for the steeple.⁷⁴ The whole of the transient duties and an heavy duty on all rum and brandy was given to St. Philip's for several years.]

Now if you suppose that Dissenters have always made more than one half of this government [This has usually been allowed to be

⁷² Bracketed material throughout the Speech appeared as footnotes in the edition of 1777.

⁷³ The Church Act of 1706 provided that if the rectors of the established church could not be paid by the Public Receiver, two or more freeholders in the several parishes would be empowered to assess and levy the required amount. *Statutes*, II, 287.

⁷⁴ £ 33,656 18s. 9d. had been appropriated through June, 1757, for the building of St. Michael's. The £ 3,500 for the steeple was apparently granted from the Beacon Fund at a time when work on the steeple had been halted for lack of funds. The commissioners in charge of building the church maintained that the steeple would be "of extraordinary Use to the Navigation on our Coast." George W. Williams, *St. Michael's, Charleston, 1751-1951* (Columbia, 1951), pp. 139, 142-143.

the state of the case; at present I believe it is on all hands agreed that they are a great majority.], the sum that has been actually taken out of their pockets for the support of a church with which they did not worship must amount to more than 82,013 £ 10s. within the ten years aforesaid, and a very large sum of their property in glebes, parsonages and churches lies in the possession and improvement of the Church of England. (*Were we to compute the lawful interest of all, and the usual rent of the glebes, etc. from the time when they were severally granted and appropriated, I don't know how far it would swell the sum.*)

But if the Dissenters do make a great majority of the inhabitants, the argument is still stronger and the impropriety of obliging the purse of the *major* to suit itself to the consciences of the *minor* can't fail to weigh with every candid mind. The inequality of the religious burden is the more evident when you consider that the number of the established churches in this state is only twenty and many of them very small, whereas the number of formed dissenting congregations, the generality of which are much larger than those of the establishment, is at least seventy-nine, as appears from a schedule now in my hand. [The Quakers and sundry others of which I had not then heard were not put into that list; I think there are ninety.] Still more unequal it appears when you take into computation the large sums which Dissenters do actually pay over and above their share of expence to the Church of England for the support of their own worship. From the best intelligence that I can obtain they have made provision for the support of their own worship and would actually pay the sum of 40,000 £ annually, could they be furnished with clergy. But the deficiency of gospel ministers reduces the sum very considerably.

Sir! you may say that the doors of the established church are open equally to all denominations and that all may equally enjoy the benefit of it. I have heard of such an argument. But besides that it is notorious that what the public has paid for in some instances has been converted into private property and become the real estate of individuals [The pews in St. Philip's and St. Michael's churches are now private property and sell from twelve hundred to nineteen hundred and fifty pounds; what they sell for in St. George's I have not heard.] it would here be extremely natural to ask how a rational Dissenter can enjoy the benefit of the establishment? The only answer that I can give to such a question is a very short one—*he must do it at the expence of his own private judgment and conscience.*

"But Dissenters are tolerated; there is free toleration. Does any man impose upon them? Who prevents their worshipping as they please?"

I answer in this respect they stand upon the same footing with the Jews. No body molests them. But would it, Sir, content our brethren of the Church of England to be *barely tolerated*, that is *not punished* for presuming to think for themselves? Is a bare toleration sufficient for the majority of a free state, of a free state that expects to gain its liberties by the sword? Would not a *bare toleration* be viewed by our brethren with infinite disdain? Is this equality? Sure the justice of this house, now unfettered by British violence, will not permit the continuance of such a monument of inequality.

3. There are some who entertain an idea of keeping up the establishment merely as a matter of religious superiority, without taxing other denominations. But they seem to forget that every reason for which they desire the superiority by establishment operates as an abridgment of religious liberty. For when a man presumes to follow his own judgment in religious matters and refuses to *conform*, he must at least submit to this inferiority, or rather bear the reproach of the law as not being on a level with those that are Christians in its esteem. Still there remains injustice and a foundation for dissatisfaction. For Sir, let it be remembered that there are many Dissenters in this state who care but little for the money that it costs them to support the Church of England. They value much more their religious, their *unalienable* rights, than the expence. Sir, you very well know that it was not the *three pence on the pound of tea* that roused all the virtue of America. It is our birth-right that we prize. It is a full and undiminished freedom in the exercise of our own judgment in all religious matters that we value and esteem. And for a *meer empty name* without profit, for a meer title of pre-eminency without emolument, is it worth while to have a bone of endless contention in the state and to maintain these odious distinctions?

4. There is [a] proposal, Mr. Speaker, to establish all denominations by law and to pay them all equally. This, Sir, may operate as a scheme of division but in practice it must appear equally absurd and impossible. Absurd, as the establishment of all religions would in effect be no establishment at all. It would destroy the very end of an establishment by reducing things just to the same state they would be in without it, with this disadvantage, that large bodies of men who could not obtain church officers might be oppressed by being obliged to pay for that which they received no benefit from. But it would be found impracticable, as people of different sentiments live intermingled and there could be no possible distinction of parishes so as to accommodate different denominations. But if the establishment must from time to time conform

itself to the prevailing party in each parish or district, there would not only be the same ground for complaint that there now is, but it would prove the means of everlasting strife. And indeed I am afraid that the expence would be found upon tryal insupportable. Sir! it is impracticable in this state to establish all denominations and it is only thrown out to amuse us. But to admit the establishment of a few dissenting churches in preference to all others as a means to make them acquiesce—it is too big with injustice to procure the consent of an honest man. Let us all have equal privileges or nothing. EQUALITY OR NOTHING! ought to be our motto. In short, every plan of establishment must operate as a plan of injustice and oppression; and therefore, Sir, I am utterly against all establishments in this state. [The author had a reference in this position, and in all others of this nature, to an establishment of parishes with legal boundaries and those supported out of the public treasury. He has the pleasure to find that a general establishment, or rather incorporation of all denominations is now thought of, and likely to be adopted, which while it makes all parties happy, is not liable to the above objections. The plan he refers to leaves only the incorporation of the Church of England standing and opens the door to the equal incorporation of all denominations—while not one sect of Christians in preference to all others, but Christianity itself is the established religion of the state.] ⁷⁵ Leave each church to be supported by its own members and let its real merit be all its pre-eminence. Thus while you give proper scope for a laudable emulation, you take away all complaint of injustice and build your state upon the solid foundations of equity and righteousness.

If these arguments have failed to weigh at other times, they ought now to have amazing weight. While you are contending for the rights of mankind with one of the greatest powers upon earth, will you leave your own constitution marked with injustice and oppression, and that in the most important of all respects that ever mortals contended for? What are all the liberties for which we dare to grapple with Great Britain when compared with our religious liberties? Can you imagine that the numerous Dissenters who venture their all in support of American freedom would be fond of shedding their blood in this cause if they did not with confidence expect that they should have justice done them and that they should stand upon the same footing with their brethren? Can you imagine that a refusal of justice would not damp their ardour, if not utterly disarm them? Do they ask any more than what they have

⁷⁵ The plan here referred to was incorporated into the Constitution of 1778.

an absolute and indefeasible right to enjoy? Sir, these are rights which they cannot possibly relinquish! Their claim is founded in eternal justice and this stands confessed by their most violent opposers. They must pay an equal share of that tax which independency will cost you, they must spill a greater share of blood, and therefore they cannot, I say they cannot, consent to the smallest inferiority in privileges either civil or religious.

But Sir, in the present case the claims of good policy join those of common and confessed justice. Religious establishments discourage the opulence and cramp the growth of a free state. Every fetter, whether religious or civil, deters people from settling in a new country. Take off every unnecessary yoke and people of all denominations and professions will flock in upon you with all their arts and industry. [We are told that North Carolina and Maryland have taken down their establishments; that Virginia as yet refuses to do it.⁷⁶ If this state acts upon a liberal plan, we may expect that the rich hills of west Virginia will depopulate to crowd these happier regions.] If a spirit of toleration raised the United Provinces to such a pitch of glory and grandeur by inviting people from every quarter of Europe; if an entire equality has made Pennsylvania the emporium of America to the immortal honour of its wise legislator; what good effects may not be expected from the same spirit of laws in this state? That state in America which adopts the freest and most liberal plan will be the most opulent and powerful and will well deserve it. Sir, as a narrowness in these matters is the disgrace of the human mind, so is it the disgrace of any system of laws whatever.

I could wish to draw the attention of the House to another important motive, that is the future peace and happiness of this state. Grant this petition and the foundation of religious discord is eternally removed. It is inequality that excites jealousy and dissatisfaction. Make your laws partial towards people of any one set of opinions, suppose it only in philosophy, and you entail immortal strife and debate upon your children. If all your people are equally free and happy, it will be no matter who is *in* or who is *out*, i.e., in respect to denomination.

Where the people have a full voice in legislation the case is vastly different from what it has been in times past while royal violence stood ready to support the claims of injustice. Gentlemen of the Church of

⁷⁶ See Fletcher M. Green, *Constitutional Development in the South Atlantic States, 1776-1860* (Chapel Hill, 1930), pp. 70-71, 93, and Alden, *The South in the Revolution*, pp. 318-321.

England should, methinks, be as much concerned to obtain the prayer of this petition as any others. The course of things is very uncertain. None know where numbers and interest may carry matters in future time. Some have unjustly accused Dissenters with an intention to establish themselves. [Of nine denominations, all equally jealous, can eight be found sufficiently tame to join in setting the ninth into the saddle to ride them and the Church of England with them? If any are able to impose upon themselves so far as to believe this absurdity the best way to prevent the evil is to put it out of their power by granting the prayer of the petition.] It was partly that accusation that gave birth to the petition before you. But if the Gentlemen of the Church of England do really apprehend danger of such a mortifying issue in process of time, sure they of all men ought to be most anxious so to fix the basis of the constitution as forever to prevent it. I mean by making it a foundation article that there never shall be any such establishment. This is the only security of the Church of England, as well as of other churches. That Church has long had the advantage; she has reaped uncontrouled the emoluments of the state; she has subsisted on the abridgment of the equal privileges of others; she has flourished by aid of their property. *Let the time past suffice.*

With the new constitution let the day of justice dawn upon every rank and order of men in this state. Let us bury what is past forever. We even consent that the estate which she has for a century past⁷⁷ been drawing more or less from the purses of all denominations, an estate of no less value than three hundred and eighty thousand pounds, remain in her quiet possession and be fixed there. Let her only for the future cease to demand pre-eminence. Let her freely consent that others enjoy the same privileges, in every respect, with herself. This is all we ask; we seek no restitution. After the vast sums partially expended by the state upon one denomination, all the others ask not a farthing to be returned them. Let her be contented with her superb churches, her spacious burying-grounds, her costly parsonages, her numerous glebes and other church estates obtained in a great degree from the public purse while not a farthing has been granted to other churches, and let her not now insist upon such glaring partiality any longer.

Mr. Speaker, I know I transgress the usual bounds. Although I know it is my right, yet I can hardly keep from asking pardon of the House for being tedious. But it is impossible to do justice to this great

⁷⁷ The Church of England had been established in South Carolina since 1706. Wallace, *Short History*, pp. 71-74.

cause by confining myself to a narrow compass. I am obliged to answer one capital objection before I sit down, and reserve to myself the right of answering the arguments which are used in favour of a continuance of the establishment in case I find it needful.

The objection I mean is that with respect to the *time*. You hear it from all quarters by those who speak in favour of the establishment, "It is perfectly just that an equality of privileges should take place. None can contradict the justice of the petition. If you had only delayed it to a proper time we should have been advocates for it ourselves. But we have too much now upon our hands. Wait until matters are better settled and you are sure of it."

I believe the gentlemen that I have heard speak in this manner are sincere as to their own intentions, but I must be excused from believing that the zealous friends of an establishment, so partial, will be of the same mind with them. I think if the time is left to them it will prove as it did in the case of the man, the time of whose execution was left to himself. It so happened that all the persuasions of the executioner could never make him believe that the time present was proper. I remember from the history of the revolution when the Papists were like to prove too strong for the favourers of the accession, the Dissenters thought it a proper time to insist on some alterations in the penal laws, which though leveled against Papists were so artfully managed as to take in all Dissenters with them. The only way found to content them was by solemnly promising to give them relief as soon as ever the affairs of the nation would permit it. They were prayed and entreated to be silent at that time. "It would be dangerous to make any alterations, the Papists would take advantage of it and endanger the accession." They simply yielded to the prayers of the establishment. But a full proof that to *postpone* where the rights of justice demand is to *betray* them; a full proof of the danger of deferring to another time what ought to be done now—I will only ask any man who knows the history of the nation since that time whether these promises have ever been fulfilled? Are they placed upon the equal footing that was promised? Not that there were not found some who faithfully endeavoured to fulfill their promises, but the majority thought it proper to ride on in the same manner after they found themselves well fixed in the saddle.

But Sir! suppose the petitioners had no such instance to warn them, suppose the event was not so perfectly natural and to be expected. Yet let me ask any gentleman who thinks that *this is not a proper time* a few questions. Is it not a fact that we are now reviewing the constitution; that *what* was designed only as a *pro tempore* affair may become so

perfected as to be fit to stand? Is it not an agreed point that it is dangerous to have the constitution placed upon the same footing with any common law, subject to be canvassed every session? If then there is ever a time in which it is proper to apply for redress of any grievance which may be supposed to lye in the present frame of the state, when should that be but when the constitution is to be reviewed and fixed? Is there, can there be another time so natural? Or should a thing in which the liberties of the people are so essentially concerned not enter into the constitution, but be left to the precarious fate of any common law? Shall it be left to be promoted or crushed at hazard? Should not the constitution take care of the religious as well as civil liberties of the people? Or do you think the former of less importance than the latter?

When these questions are properly answered, I then beg leave to ask if this matter is not now attended to, will not the Church of England be established by law under the new constitution and become the constitutional church? If so, and none will deny it as we presume, then will not all these oppressions which have been groaned under heretofore be constitutional in this free state? And is this a matter of small moment to the major part of the people? And must they sit still out of meer compliment? Must they compliment away their freedom in this manner, and not only suffer, but even lend their aid by putting their own hands to it, with the sanction of the people at large? It is strange that gentlemen can expect it. How can we answer our neglect to our constituents, who expect that we shall make them free? How can we answer it to our posterity, who even now ought to rise in our imagination and demand of us to leave them free? This is the natural time and this is the only time. Things ought to be done in their proper season. And gentlemen may pretend what they please—if they are averse to grant justice in the present season of it—if they are unwilling to do it *now*, they will be more so *by and by*. One thing I am sure of, they will have less motives to engage them to do it *by and by*. He that is disposed to do justice is willing to do it without delay. The old law maxim is good, *to delay justice is to deny it*.

Sir! at this time all ranks of people more sensibly feel the claims of justice than they will hereafter. They now feel the rod of oppression, and [there is] nothing like suffering to bring us to our senses. They are now struggling against arbitrary power. They can now realize the hardship. Let these times pass and ease will naturally lull them into an inattention to the rights of mankind. That this is the proper time the example of other states confirms. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware

have led the way; Virginia and North Carolina are now meditating the same important step. Maryland has done it already. That this is the proper time is plain, as the people are now waiting to see what they have to expect, for what it is they are to waste their treasure and their blood. They are ready to do it cheerfully if they may with certainty expect to be made and kept as happy as their brethren. They ask no favours, they ask only the common rights of mankind. By some it is said to be dangerous to grant this request at the present time. They own it is just; it ought to be. No member, say they, in the House will deny it; but the time is dangerous.

But Sir, are we indeed reduced to that situation that it is dangerous to do common justice? Every man allows it to be just; well then, who is to be feared? Are you afraid of those who confess the justice of the present application? Acknowledging it to be just and right, will they be apt to revolt against their own sentiments? Will the danger arise from the dissenting denominations? No, it answers the prayer of their petition. Will the danger arise from the Church of England? I can't think it. It is too harsh an imputation upon the gentlemen of that church. They will not endanger the state on account of that which they know and universally allow to be just. I cannot, I will not, admit the supposition. Sir, I have the pleasure of knowing too many of them to think so. Many of them have signed the petition. Many more have declared their sentiments in the most liberal terms. There is too much catholicism and love to liberty among them. They don't desire any longer to press their brethren. They profess a generous disdain of the thing. They have property sufficient to maintain their own clergy liberally, and if the state did not take it off their hands, I believe they would do it more liberally than it is now done.

If the Dissenters did not apply now, it might by and by be retorted upon them, and that with great justice, "You have had an hand in framing the constitution as well as we. The Church of England is the constitutional church by your own act and deed. Why did you not make your opposition in proper time? Why so much out of season? Why endeavour to subvert what your own hands have reared?" Sir, we should be dumb; or what is as bad, we should justly lye under the charge of some species of sedition. Sir, we mean to act a rational and constitutional part. And now Sir, it only remains to be seen whether this legislative body, now by God's goodness free from the chains of foreign compulsion, will rectify the errors of less happy times; whether they will rise in the annals of this important age by shewing a temper superior to all illiberality and oppression.

Will you Sir, comply with the demands of common justice? Or are you willing to listen longer to the cry of oppression? Will you make all your people equally free and happy? Do you desire to put an effectual end to all religious broils and contentions forever? Will you strengthen your own hands in defence of your bleeding country? Do you wish to enrich it by an influx of healthy inhabitants from every quarter of the world? Would you secure yourself from the fetters of any one denomination, with which the uncertainty of time may inundate this country? Will you give to every denomination the best security of future religious freedom and happiness that the nature of the case admits? Grant then the prayer of the petition; grant it in substance, if not in the very expressions. Let it be a foundation article in your constitution, "That there shall be no establishment of one religious denomination of Christians in preference to another. That none shall be obliged to pay to the support of a worship in which they do not freely join." Yield to the mighty current of American freedom and glory and let our state be inferior to none on this wide continent in the liberality of its laws and in the happiness of its people.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ The Petition of the Dissenters was introduced in the House of Assembly by Gen. Christopher Gadsden. Rawlins Lowndes and Col. Charles Pinckney "threw off the masque and argued strongly for having the church continued upon its former footing . . ." The other members who opposed the Petition accepted the clause relieving Protestants from the obligation of maintaining a church in which they did not freely join, but supported an amendment to strike out the clause, "That there never shall be an establishment of any one Denomination or sect of Protestants, by way of preference to another in this State." Their support of the amendment was based on the grounds that an established church should be continued because its functions in caring for the poor and managing elections were "interwoven with law. . . ." The amendment was defeated by a vote of 70 to 60. McCrady, *History*, pp. 212-213. The Constitution of 1778 provided that, "The Poor shall be supported, and Elections managed, in the accustomed Manner, until laws shall be provided, to adjust those Matters . . . in the most equitable Way."

BELEAGUERED CHARLESTON:
LETTERS FROM THE CITY, 1860-1864

Edited by MARTIN ABBOTT and ELMER L. PURYEAR

(Continued from July)

"Mudville" formerly Charleston
Jany 18/64

Dear Liney

Yours 15th came to hand yesterday and Ma's was rec'd a week ago. I was waiting to collect the dividends &c before writing so as to make one job. I concluded that ink and paper had become obselete in your part and my surmise in regard to the former article is pretty correct. *Pencil* is absolutely obnoxious to my eyesight and I will only accept your excuse on the express condition that the experiment is not repeated.

I am very sorry but you will be disappointed in your contemplated visit to town. You have just got to give up the idea entirely. Within the last week or so the Yanks have shelled the City unceasingly, without any intermission only at times the intervals between each one is diminished or increased, without however hurting any body. I dont want to insinuate that you are afraid of the Shells. I believe you have never heard one and I dont think you would find it comfortable with them dropping around you, which would be the case if you stop at Aunt Jane for they "drap" all about there now. One fell in John St east of Meeting, one in Charlotte St., in Calhoun St at Cor of Meeting, in fact they fall higher up town than formerly. It is stated that Beauregard said at first that they would reach John St as that was just within the circle of their fire. Mrs Hoff is in range but none have as yet come near enough to the house to be disagreeable. . . .

Charleston April 2/64

Dr Liney

Yours 29th Ult at hand yesterday. Was very glad to hear from you. I got home safely on Thursday night in good time. I rode down in the Mail Cond[ucto]rs Room and was introduced to Morgan. I dont think it will cost me much next time I come up. Met a Soldier with a canteen of first rate peach brandy and Locke and myself managed to Swallow

a little (?) of it. Strange to say the Soldier got alarmed and left our vicinity at the first opportunity.

I have not found a boarding house yet. Everyone I meet is of the same mind— Can't get a good place. Mrs Finneys boarders complain that they can see daylight through the bread. Another place I heard of charges \$50 per week for very poor fare. At a little place on King St I can get meals for \$5-each, which amounts to about \$70 pr week but them [then] I get enough to eat. I can always find a sleeping place. Bro Campbell of *Milnor* notoriety asked me this week to bunk with him. We met very suddenly. C had a bottle of bully brandy in his possession and we suddenly became excellent friends. . . .

I have experienced a remarkable change Since my return. In fact it is a matter of much congratulation in these Starvation time[s]. I cant imagine how the astonishing change was brought about. You will no doubt be astounded and to come to the point, I dont eat half as much now, as before I left here. Since I got back up [to] the present time I have eaten but 9 breakfasts, 5 dinners and 2 suppers, Sixteen meals in nine days. For breakfast I take some tea, bread or crackers and fried bacon. Out of the 5 dinners I have dined out twice with friends. I never refuse an invitation from a proper source. I have no appetite. Yesterday I was at Kings restaurant and left half of the dinner. So you see this is getting on very cheap and at the same time I am satisfied. I intend to save my appetite until I come up again which I hope will be in about two or three weeks. I would like to get a nice ham cheap as I could have it boiled and it would last me some time. *The shirt and fowl trade is satisfactory.* Muldrow promised to send me some provisions, but I doubt if he will think of it again. I saw him last Monday. He had been busy and sick and made many apologies for his seeming neglect. He did not pay up but preferred if I was willing to pay in new Currency. . . .

Charleston April 18/64
(Answered Apl 25/64)

Dear Belton,

I sincerely hope that you are fixed as regards your situation. I dont see how they can do otherwise than give you a surgeon's certificate. It is fortunate that you have a friend in Col Shields and there is some consolation in the fact that you will lose one situation to get another equally as good as far as exemption from field duty is concerned. The fate of

our Fire Dept hangs as it were "on a thread," for our papers are simply endorsed "*indulgence granted until further orders.*" I look upon this as decidedly weak. We can be ordered to Camp at any moment. If such should be the case I intend to try my chances at an examination. I should not like to apply for a Certificate unless matters come to what I have stated. I hardly think a Situation you propose would pay. However I am none the less grateful for your remembrance and would like to hear more about it regarding Salary duties &c—

We have had but few fires since my last. Some people say it is owing to the fact that the "firemen have been exempted," but it is really because more attention is paid the lower part of the City by the police authorities. All boys and vagrants, black and white, found below Wentworth St are required to render a good account of themselves or be taken to the Guard house.

I have no doubt your experience with the Boarding Houses is far more extensive than mine. I dont pretend to complain or grumble at accommodations, fare or anything but find it hard that being out the army and with a tolerable good income I cant find a place I can call home.

The Yanks continue shelling the City with the usual damage to buildings. Robberies are becoming frequent. Old Cook in King St was robbed last week of \$2000 in specie and all his papers. His safe was broken open. One says and another states the key was left in it all night. Gen'l Evans was thrown from a buggy on Saturday and severely bruised.²⁶ Ned West was hit in the head with a brick same day and died from the effects thereof, and a man was garroted in Buzzard Alley and lost some specie and Confed. I seldom step out late at night and when I do I have a weapon about me. If I get a chance to let go the ruffains will be either killed or scared to death to say nothing of the neighbors who will immediately conclude that Gillmore has left one of his Notices. I have to acknowledge the receipt of many favors in the shape of papers which are a source of much information and pleasure. I like the Examiners Editorials. . . .

Yours truly

CHAS R. ROGERS

²⁶ Brigadier General Nathan George Evans.

Charleston April 23/64

Dr Liney

Your favors 10th and 18th inst, the latter enclosing \$240.60/100 Old Cur[renc]y at hand for which accept many thanks. I would have answered the first but was so disgusted with that Wingate man that I hated to think about him much less to write. I am glad he has got over the staggers at last for I am much in need of money, having funded all my surplus funds and it is impossible to get any money on or use the 4 *poor* cent certificates to any advantage just now. Wingate has over paid \$6.70 as I make it. \$240.60 Old currency less 33 1/3 % would give \$160.60 (no discount on the 60 cts) This added to \$60 in 5s gives \$220.60. The draft was \$213.90 therefore I have 6.70 in his favor. Ma had better pay him when convenient although he dont deserve it and I will credit her with it. The 50\$s are subject to the same discount as the 10s and 20s and can be exchanged for new Currency with 1/3 off. The 100s can *not* be exchanged for new currency but can be funded in 4% bonds at the rate of 66 2/3 cts on the dollar with an additional discount of 10 pr ct for every month they are in circulation after the 1st April. Ma Says *credit* her with \$60. I rather think she means *debit*. . .

I did not see Muldrow but heard from him a day or two ago. He has no money—nothing but 4 *poor* cent bonds but promises to send me a lot of Bacon as soon as it stops raining. I did write him two weeks ago that probably I would be up about this time. I expected to leave here on a "purchasing tour," but the party succeeded in getting away himself. I hope however to see you early next month. Will give a weeks notice so that I will not be under the disagreeable necessity of looking up quarters. My bones have not lost the *feel* of one of those thumps I got in the Cart.

Owing to the scarcity of money I have been unable to get up that box but will do so as soon as possible and let you know. I will get the Sugar for the Dr. although it will cost about \$7 or \$8 pr lb. Porter sells Clarified at \$9. Think it best to get that.

Write soon.

As ever

CHARLIE

Charleston June 7th/64

Dear Belton

.....

We Firemen have had a devil of a time lately. One afternoon about three weeks ago the Alarm bell rung for fire, but instead of going to put out one we were marched to the Orphan House where we were addressed by the Major and requested to Volunteer a visit to Jim [James] Island and assist in shooting the Yankees should they appear. Of Course the boys agreed unanimously. They were armed and equipped and ready in an hour, but we did not go over to the Island. On Sunday following bang went the Old bell again and out we [went] as anxious and bloodthirsty as any rebel and this time eight Companies went over. Mine was not among them and I wasn't so very sorry. They returned to town after a bloodless Campaign of two days. Since then and until last Saturday we have done guard duty for the Provost Marshall and Enrolling officer. I liked the latter for it gave me an opportunity to practice that little game of looking at everybody's papers which the Soldiers took such a relish in doing some time ago. There was a fire down town last week and the Yanks dropped their Shells in town like peas. One struck the Phoenix Engine, demolishing one of the pumps, part of the brakes and tore open the side of the box. A negro with whom Wm Thomas had just changed places lost his arm.²⁷ It is almost miraculous that no one else was hurt. My engine (The Hope) was just along side and I tell you that shell came too near me to be agreeable. The boys stand them much better than I expected. Suppose all hands like myself think it much better than stopping Minie balls.

.....

Yrs truly

CHAS R. ROGERS

Chastn June 25/64

Dr Liney

.....

on Sunday I was on Guard and had a busy time watching black and White Yanks all night at the Jail. Next day I was used up and it took all day nearly to get the dirt and mosquito scrapings off. I slew myriads of the Varmints for my hands were bloody in the morning. I believe by the ordinary process of washing in a basin of water that I would not have become clean in two days but the Man I board

²⁷ See the *Charleston Daily Courier*, June 1, 1864.

with has large bathing tubs and I availed myself of the same and intend to immerse weekly hereafter.

Well since then it has been too hot and I have been too busy to get the box ready. I would have sent more but I could not get a box to suit so you must be thankful for what I have sent. Please deliver the opium to the Dr. As for the Spoons I forgot to tell you before, that when I went to get them just after I heard from you ordering four, I found all sold. I am sorry. Saw some pewter ones at \$5 ea but they are too easily bent and broken. The Dress contains 9 yds at \$8.50—cheap. You may find a few spots in it but I warrant they wash out without injury or will take the goods back. Sound goods not a bit better are worth \$11. Narrow and inferior texture can be had for \$6. I hope Mrs. P. will be pleased. I think it a very neat pattern—reflecting great taste on the purchaser. The bal[ance] to her Cr now is \$20.17. I would send it now but thought possibly she may want something else. Let me know. The Copperas cost \$4—Soda Ditto— Sugar \$8 and Pepper & 10. The Crackers are for the Small children, Old ones excluded entirely.

Charleston July 2d/64

Dr Liney

You must excuse this letter as I am writing in a big hurry and at the Commissary store house where I am on guard. The Yanks attacked our outworks on James Isl'd this morning early and succeeded in taking two of our guns and drove in our pickets. The Alarm bell was rung at a terrible rate and for some time there was much excitement, but everything is quiet now. The enemy has no doubt been driven back although we have no news to that effect. At this time 6 p.m. the Fire Brigade is still under arms. I dont think we will be sent over but will have all the Guard duty in our hands in the City, which is heavy enough already. I wont go over anyhow. As luck would have it 'twas my turn today for guard and here I am perfectly willing to stay as long as any fighting on Jim Isl'd is to be done. (I would not mention this last sentence to any one—

I had an *auction* yesterday my first attempt and I am glad to say it met with success. Rosa Beach was married Tuesday. Never asked me. Wasn't it unkind? Write soon.

As ever

CHARLIE

Chastn July 21st/64

I am glad that the Conts of box gave satisfaction altho I positively can not see anything so very dreadful in buying a whole pd of pepper at \$10. I shall be careful hereafter and not buy more than [than] ½ pd of any article as that is the standard quantity we use[d] to buy (particular tea) "from *time immemorial*." Has the paper ceased coming? If so I will see Budds and have it continued. I sent some sugar to Muldrow this or rather last week to exchange for bacon for which I have an order. I have not heard from him, but presume he has rec'd the box. As soon as I get the bacon [I] will make some arrangement about getting lard from him. He has not been in town to my knowledge. I would like very much to see him.

I have collected one dividend and the State Int[erest]. The other dividend is not payable until the 25th in all amounting to \$150. I have about \$50 to Ma's Cr on the open A/c and will send up some money soon. It is very dull here now and money tight and expenses heavy. Since April I have not done as well as I expected, and I have come to the conclusion that the prospect is poor for a single man and a conscript at that. There is a Steamer fitting up here to run the blockade. A friend has spoken for a situation for me and if accepted I intend to leave if I can get off. *Do not say anything about it* as I have rec'd no answer yet. I hope you will approve of my determination as it would be much pleasanter to go *with* your approbation than without it.

I have been unable to find the barrels for Dr. B. Have inquired almost everywhere. I will keep a look out and buy as near his limit as possible. I am certain they will not be less than \$10 ea, presuming that he wishes the four to contain 100 galls in the aggregate.

CHARLIE

Chastn Augt 6th/64

Dr Liney

You can all set your minds at ease on the blockade question for the present, as the place I applied for was already promised away. Business *with me* is a little brisker just now. I have done some running around this week. Am resting to day and fixing up my office affairs, writing letters &c. *Whittemore* has woke up at last and entrusted me with several Commissions. Old King say "it is no more than their business to give

me all their business." Franklin whom you may recollect arrived here on Wednesday in the Str [Steamer] Gen'l Whiting. He is mate. Looks well altho' has been sick. Fred sent me his respects and a box to Ned Jordan. The Str is at quarantine and as soon as she hauls into the dock agreeable to invitation, I shall try some Nassau fare. Have already indulged in some fine brandy and Havana Segars. Its really worth something just to smell either. I will have Franklin with an order, particularly for something in the wearing line for Lizzie and Anna.

I sent you a box on Wednesday Containing some tea, biscuits which I drew in my rations and some homespun Mr A sent for Tophy to make aprons, which I hope will reach you safely. My Rations consisted of biscuits bacon Rice and soap for 16 days service. They are worth \$40. Mr. A sent me the Stripe 13 yds costing \$4 pr yd and I now have some cheap and cool summer clothes. The goods are very nice and fine.

Mr. Muldrow wrote me to day that he had engaged the Ham &c for you but that you would not state what quantity, preferring to leave it to me. Now you know more about it than I and you must let me know how much Sugar to send up as soon as possible. My other Sugar swap with him has fizzled and I have ordered it sent back.

The Weather is powerfully hot in this part of Dixie. I still have guard duty to perform. No fires lately, but plenty of shells this week. Love to all. Write soon.

As ever

CHARLIE

Chastn Sept 2d/64

Dr Liney

Your favors 12th 15th and 30th Ult and the Collars came safely to hand for which accept many thanks. If not too much trouble I would like you to finish the remaining five to make up the dozen, as *all* of my *turn down* collars are worn out and I have only a few *garrotes* left that I can wear without danger of having my neck sawed off.

Mr Franklin is in port yet. I have been aboard the Str several times and dined sumptuously. He has been very unfortunate in his ventures, but says he will remember me next time. He is to take me out, if he comes back master of the ship. Swan is expected in shortly and very likely I may get a chance with him.²⁸ I may as well tell you

²⁸ Both of these were captains of blockade runners.

now that I am going to leave the first opportunity, and trust to luck for success. I have given F—a small list and I am satisfied he will bring it when he comes back. I have also given a list to *Jno McKinlay*, a brother of those girls who went to dancing. They are nice people from the Old Man down. The latter gets hold of some good brandy occasionally and I always come in for a pull or two at it. One of the girls made me a beautiful Palmetto hat. It is plaited very fine and nice and resembles an imported Straw. It is admired by every one. It is a good thing to keep on the right side of people.

For the past two weeks the Yanks have had a lively time with their fuse shells. They burst up in the air with a tremendous report and scatter the fragments in every direction. Three or four lives have been lost, (all negroes and cows) and several persons have been injured seriously. This week most of them have exploded in the neighborhood of George and Calhoun Sts and twice a day I have to run the gauntlet of the fragments on my way to and from meals, for I am still eating at the St Daphne, George St betw Meeting and Anson.

We have also plenty of fires. From 10 o'clock last Saturday to the same hour Monday no less than five. Three were in the Meeting St Ice house, one in President St and the last but most destructive in Hayne St. Fortunately the Yanks did not shell much. We have been blessed however for our escape seems almost Providential—

As ever

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RECORDS OF THE WILLTOWN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
1747-1841

Edited by SLANN L. C. SIMMONS

(Continued from July)

[Signatures on Binder of Indenture] Edwd Ferguson, Ezekiel Branford, Joseph Ash, James Stobo, Samuel Lowle, Saml Davison, Richd Ash, Richd Cochn Ash, Willm Hayne ³⁵

THIS INDENTURE made the Twenty-fifth day of January, . . . One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Three, . . . Between Ezekiel Branford, James Stobo, Capt. Richard Ash Senior, William Hayne, Samuel Lowle, Edward Ferguson, Joseph Ash, Samuel Davidson and Richard Cockran Ash, all of the Parish of St. Paul's in the Province of South Carolina Planters of the one part, and the several Members of the Presbyterian Church and Congregation of Will-Town whose names are hereunto subscribed, and their successors, the Presbyterian Members of the said Presbyterian Church to all Future Time, of the other part. WHEREAS several well disposed Persons from a sincere desire to Promote the Interest of the Christian Religion in this part of the world, and for the support of the Presbyterian Church at Will-Town, and the Maintainance of Qualified Presbyterian Ministers thereof from Time to Time Have Given and Bequeathed to Certain Trustees, divers sums of Money, and Negroes, In Trust to be Improved and Employed for Effectuating those good Ends and Purposes . . . And Whereas the several Trustees appointed . . . joined to themselves other Trustees who are Faithful Men and Members of the said Congregation whereby the several Particular Trusts have now become one General Trust fixed and settled in the hands of the said [named above] and the Survivors or Survivor of them which said General Trustees, are Authorized and Empowered to Transact all Matters Relative to the said Trust, by a Majority, and to . . . appoint Others in a Course of Succession upon the Contingencys, . . . NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH that the said [General Trustees] . . . have . . . agreed . . . That they . . .

³⁵ Each signature here is sealed, as are some in other parts of the Indenture. The seal is identical in all, a boy's or man's profile wearing a cap, with the hair showing above the forehead. All parts bear the same date, and in most, the witnesses sign on the reverse of the sheet. Legal phraseology and repetition have been omitted wherever possible.

will according to the best of . . . their skill and knowledge . . . Execute and Perform in relation to the said Lega[cys and Be]quests and for the good Management . . . so that the good and pious Intentions of the said Legators may be fulfilled . . . and the Trust handed down by them to Successive Generations without Fraud or Abuse. IN WITNESS whereof the [subscribers to ?] these presents have hereunto Interchangeably set their hands and Seals the day and Year first above written.

Sealed and delivered in the Presence of John McLeod, Charles Lorimer: Witnesses to all the Subscripsns. of the Trustees excepting Mr. Davidson and to the Subscription of the first eleven Members of the Congregation. Tho. Bell, Charles Lorimer: Witnesses to Samuel Davison's Subscription.

[2nd part]—TO ALL PEOPLE to whom these presents shall come [etc.] Thomas Sacheverel and Samuel Davidson of St. Paul's Parish . . . send greeting—

[Trustees of the bequest of Henry Sherriff, Planter]⁸⁶ AND Whereas there is now in hand . . . Securitys for the Legacy of Two Hundred Pounds, together with Interest to the 13th day of February next to the amount the sum of Two Hundred and Four pounds current money of the Province . . . [appoint General Trustees, named] And the said Thomas Sacheverel and Samuel Davidson do by these presents constitute a majority of the said Trustees including themselves to be a quorum, And in case of their or either of them dying, removing from the Parish of St. Paul's, or changing their profession of religion, to elect other members of the said Congregation in their room; In the same manner, with the same powers, under the same limitations, and for the same purposes as are specified and expressed in a deed hereunto annexed, under the hand and seal of the said James Stobo, Trustee for the legacys of William Sheriff and William McEchen, which deed is herein referred to and for greater certainty marked A. . .

[Signed]

Samll Davison

Thos. Sacheverell

⁸⁶ The will of Henry Sheriff of James Island, bequeathed to Thomas Sacheverell and Samuel Davison of St. Paul's Parish, two hundred pounds currency in trust, the yearly income to be applied to the support of a Presbyterian Minister at Willtown, who would subscribe to the Westminster Confession and preach "Doctrine agreeable thereto as founded and shall adhere to the Presbyterian Government & Worship, of the Church of Scotland by law Established." It was dated . . . , 1750, proved 16 Aug. 1751 wills, v. 6, p. 525, P.C.

[On reverse] Sealed and delivered, [etc.] John McLeod, Charles Lorimer: Witnesses to Mr. Sacheverells Subscription.

Tho. Bell, Charles Lorimer: Witnesses to Mr. Samuel Davison his Subscription.

[3rd part]. . . Ezekiel Branford and Samuel Lowle of St. Paul's Parish . . . [Trustees of the bequest of George Mitchell, Physician.] AND WHEREAS there is now in hand . . . Securitys for the legacy of Five Hundred Pounds with interest to 13th day of February next the sum of Five Hundred Pounds current money of the Province . . . [appoint General Trustees, named] [etc.]

[Signed] Samuel Lowle Ezekiel Branford

[Witnesses] John McLeod, Charles Lorimer, James Donnom.

[4th part] . . . Thomas Sacheverel, Planter . . . [Trustee for the bequests of Purchase Hendrick and Royal Spry] . . . Whereas the said legacy [of Purchase Hendrick] has been under the management of the said Thomas Sacheverel . . . now in hand security for said legacy [thirty pounds] and interest to 13th day of February next the sum of eighty pounds seven shillings—2 1/4 current money of the Province AND WHEREAS Royal Spry, Planter, did bequeath unto John Bee and Thomas Sacheverel four slaves . . . in trust. AND WHEREAS the said John Bee is lately dead and the power . . . survives unto the said Thomas Sacheverel, [appoints General Trustees, named.]

[Signed] Thos. Sacheverell

[Witnesses] John McLeod, Charles Lorimer, James Donnom.

[5th part] . . . Edward Ferguson of St. Paul's . . . [Trustee for bequest of William Ferguson, Planter] AND WHEREAS William Ferguson did bequeath unto Brigadeer John Bee and Edward Ferguson his son . . . AND WHEREAS the said John Bee is lately dead and the Trust devolves upon Edward Ferguson the survivor, [appoints General Trustees, named.]

[Signed] Edwd Ferguson

Settled this thirteenth day of February, 1753, the above Legacy of Fifty Pounds, which with . . . interest to this time amounts to—Seventy nine Pounds Seven Shillings and Sixpence.

[Witnesses] John McLeod, Charles Lorimer, James Donnom.

[6th part] . . . Richard Ash Senior and Ezekiel Branford of St. Paul's Parish [Trustees for bequest of Paul Hamilton, Planter] WHEREAS Paul Hamilton did bequeath Forty Three Pounds Sterling to . . . Minister . . . Elders and Deacons of the Presbyterian Church at Will-Town . . . AND WHEREAS the said several members of the said Church Session are dead, and the said Richard Ash and Ezekiel Branford are the only survivors of their successors in office upon whom the trust under the will devolves [appoint General Trustees, named]

[Signed]

Richard Ash Ezekiel Branford

The above legacy of Forty Three Pounds Sterling settled to this thirteenth day of February amounts to Nine Hundred and Eighty Nine Pounds Two shillings and Ten Pence half Penny Currency—989.2.10-1/2.

[Witnesses] John McLeod, Charles Lorimer, James Donnom.

[7th part] . . . Ezekiel Branford, Richard Ash Senior, and James Stobo of St. Paul's Parish (Planters) . . . [Trustees for the gift of Elizabeth Stobo, widow, and the bequest of William Stobo] WHEREAS The Reverend Mr. Archibald Stobo . . . by will dated 25 February 1735 did give One Hundred Pounds current money for the use of the Church or Congregation at Will-Town³⁷ AND WHEREAS after the death of the Rev. Mr. Stobo, it came to be doubted whether the Will, as drawn, would be effectual. Wherefore Elizabeth Stobo, widow of Archibald Stobo, in order to remove all doubt and . . . agreeable to the known intention of her deceased husband, did by certain deed in writing . . . dated 28th October, 1750, give the said One Hundred Pounds to Ezekiel Branford, Richard Ash and James Stobo, in Trust for the uses mentioned. AND WHEREAS Elizabeth Stobo by the same deed of writing did further give to [above named] another sum of One Hundred Pounds current money . . . [to] place out at interest both the said sums amounting to Two Hundred Pounds, [to] apply and pay the annual profits to the Presbyterian Minister of the Church at Will-Town for the time being, and during such time as the said Minister shall officiate, and no longer, and in case of a vacancy to improve such profits . . . provided that such Minister be qualified, and admitted and received by the said Congregation, according to the Rules of the Presbyterian Church Government, and Discipline of the Church of Scotland . . . AND WHEREAS Elizabeth Stobo by the said deed hath also given unto [above named] . . . a parcel of Books, in Trust for the use of such Min-

³⁷ The bequest was "to the Presbyterian Congregation at Willtown."

ister . . . AND WHEREAS William Stobo late of James Island Planter deceased . . . did bequeath unto John Bee and John Splatt, . . . One Hundred and fifty pounds Current Money in Trust . . . and in case of the death of the said John Bee and John Splatt, did empower their Executors to appoint others. AND WHEREAS the said John Bee first died, and after him the said John Splatt dyed also, whereby [the whole trust] became invested in John Splatt Junior, son and Executor of John Splatt Senior Deceased who was Surviving Trustee of the said Legacy. AND WHEREAS John Splatt Junior Executor by a Certain Deed dated 21st day of June, 1751, did elect Ezekiel Branford, Richard Ash and James Stobo to act in Conjunction with him . . . as Trustees for the purposes intended AND WHEREAS the said John Splatt Junior is also dead, whereby the whole trust is now invested in Ezekiel Branford, Richard Ash and James Stobo as Trustees for William Stobo's Legacy. Now remaining in hand Securitys for Elizabeth Stobo's Donation and Confirmation with interest to 13th February next the sum of 234 Pounds 16/8 $\frac{1}{2}$ —Current Money; also securities for William Stobo's Legacy with interest to the said Time 320 Pounds 5/9 $\frac{1}{2}$ —In the whole Sum of 555 Pounds 2/5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Current Money in their hands. [appoint General Trustees, named].

[Signed] James Stobo Richd Ash Ezekiel Branford

[Witnesses] John McLeod, Charles Lorimer, James Donnorn.

[Written on side]

Amount Mrs. Elizth Stobos Legacy to the 13th Day of February 1753	£234:16:8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Am't of William Stobos Legacy to the 13 Day of February 1753	£320: 5:9 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/> £555: 2:5 $\frac{1}{2}$

[8th part] . . . James Stobo Eldest Son, and Heir of the [Rev'd Archibald] Stobo . . . [Trustee for the bequests of Willaim Sheriff³⁸ and William McEchen]

³⁸ The will of William Sheriff, undated, was recorded Nov. 11, 1725. Wills, v. 2 (1724-25). P. C. It is of especial interest because of the early date. Executors named are "the Ministers of the Presbity Collected at Wiltown in Colleton County." The bequest was one hundred pounds currency for "the perpetual use of the Church belonging to the aforesaid Presbytery." Other conditional bequests to children of his sister Elizabeth (not residing in the Province), and wife, Isabella Sheriff, were to go to the church if conditions were not fulfilled, or in case of death.

[William Sherriff] Planter did bequeath several sums of money and certain [torn] Carolina, for the Perpetual Use of the Church to be disposed of and applied as the Presbytery should judge proper. [Money paid by executors to Rev. Archibald Stobo] which by him were let out upon interest . . . But the said Principal Sums so bequeathed came into the hands of James Stobo his son . . . and there is now remaining in custody and possession Securitys for the principal Moneys [and interest] to the 13th day of February next the sum of 576 pounds 27/8-3/4 Current Money AND ALSO WHEREAS [William McEchen] did bequeath unto John Atchinson, John Bee Junior and the said [James Stobo] . . . in Trust . . . One Hundred pounds . . . AND WHEREAS the said John Atchinson and John [Bee, Jr. are dead] whereby the whole Trust survives to the said James Stobo in whose hands there now remains Securitys for the principal sum of Two Hundred Pounds [and interest] calculated to the 13th day of February next amounts in the whole to the Sum of 576 pounds 17/ 8-3/4 . . . [appoints General Trustees, named].

[Signed]

James Stobo

[Witnesses: Charles] Lorimer, [James] Donnom, [John] McLeod.

(To be continued)

A LETTER OF JAMES L. ORR, MINISTER TO RUSSIA, 1873

Edited by JOSEPH O. BAYLEN

Mississippi State University

When President Grant appointed Governor James L. Orr of South Carolina as minister to Russia in 1872 for his support of the Radical Republicans' Ku Klux policy in the Philadelphia convention of the National Republican party,¹ he was granting the dubious reward of an unwanted post.² Yet, although lacking in knowledge of international affairs and especially the Russian Empire, Orr was an excellent choice for the position that was to be his last in public and cost him his life.

Strikingly handsome, commanding in appearance, genial, and fluent in speech, Governor Orr possessed great integrity, a sound knowledge of human nature, and the ability "to change his mind on fundamentals when his sound sense of realism told him that this was necessary."³ Indeed, he was just the right man to soothe further the feelings of the Imperial Court and erase the unpleasantness caused by the unfortunate Catacazy affair and Grant's inept handling of this irritation in Russo-American relations.⁴ It was unfortu-

¹ On the life and career of James Lawrence Orr (1822-1873) as congressman, Speaker of the House, Confederate officer, senator from South Carolina, postwar governor, and circuit judge, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, hereafter cited as DAB; *The South in the Building of the Nation* (Richmond, 1909), XII, 241-42; Francis Butler Simkins and Robert H. Woody, *South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 33, 44, 66, 127; David Duncan Wallace, *South Carolina. A Short History, 1520-1948* (Chapel Hill, 1951), 851; Laura A. White, "The National Democrats in South Carolina, 1852 to 1860," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVIII (October 1929), 373ff.

² Cf. Thomas A. Bailey, *America Faces Russia. Russian-American Relations from Early Times to Our Day* (Ithaca, 1950), 45-46.

³ While Simkins and Woody detect on the part of Orr "elements of wise opportunism," they also render the final judgment that he was "a man of unquestionable ability and integrity, . . . [who] cast his lot with the Radicals because he thought it was important for prominent men to identify themselves with that party for the purpose of controlling its . . . mischief in the state." Simkins and Woody, 44, 127. See also Benjamin Franklin Perry, *Reminiscences of Public Men, with Speeches and Addresses, first series* (Greenville, S. C., 1889), 180; J. T. Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of its Battle-Fields and Ruined Cities* (Hartford, 1866), 568; DAB, XIV, 59-60; Wallace, 581.

⁴ On the career of Constantine de Catacazy as Russian minister in Washington, see Bailey, 111-14. During Orr's first visit to the Russian ministry of foreign affairs, Gorchakov denounced Catacazy as "meddlesome" and "lacking in judgment." Orr to Fish, St. Petersburg, March 18, 1873. *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1872-73* (Washington, D. C., 1873), II, 782, hereafter cited as FR.

nate that Orr's illness and death, not long after his arrival in St. Petersburg, cut short what promised to be a successful career as an American "shirt-sleeve" diplomat.

The following letter,⁵ written to his brother, Judge Jehu A. Orr of Mississippi,⁶ four days after Governor Orr's coming to St. Petersburg, is significant not only because it reflects something of the naiveté of an "innocent abroad," but in what it reveals of the frame of reference, curiosity, and thought of a Southern gentleman traveling in Europe. In the debilitating climate which had undermined the health of so many of his predecessors,⁷ Governor Orr, worn out by the long journey and suffering from a severe cold, soon developed pneumonia and in a little more than six weeks was dead.⁸

Legation of the United States
St. Petersburg, 19 March, 1873

My dear brother;

I have at last reached my journey's end, and take the first leisure time to write you a note.

We sailed from New York on the 8th. of Feb., in the Cuba, and landed at Liverpool on the 20th, came to London and stayed five or six days. My son Lawrence, my daughter Mary accompanied me. We saw many sights at London and left many unseen. I was much impressed with West Minister Abbey, where England's Kings and Queens,

⁵ I am indebted to Professor and Mrs. James Albert Carpenter, State University, Miss., for permission to study and edit this letter. Mrs. Carpenter is the great-grand-niece of Governor Orr.

⁶ On the life and career of Judge Jehu Amaziah Orr (1828-1921), distinguished Mississippi legislator, jurist, and last surviving member of the Confederate Congress, see DAB; Dunbar Rowland, *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi* (Chicago, 1891), II, 537-40; Dunbar Rowland, *Mississippi* (Atlanta, 1907), III, 623-33; Col. R. W. Banks, "Famous Mississippians: James Orr," *The [Memphis] Commercial Appeal* (September 23, 1917); "The Last of the Confederacy," *St. Louis Post Dispatch* (April 24, 1910); J. S. McNeilly, "The Enforcement Act of 1871 and the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, IX (1906), 173-78.

⁷ Cf. Samuel Flagg Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1949), 157ff; letters of John Randolph from St. Petersburg to Andrew Jackson, 1830-1832, John Spencer Bassett, ed. *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1926-1935) IV, 174-76. See also Joseph O. Baylen, "James Buchanan's 'Calm of Despotism' [in Russia]," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXVII (July 1953), 294ff; Joseph O. Baylen, "A Tennessee Politician in Imperial Russia, 1850-1853," *The Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, XIV (September 1955), 233-34; Bailey, 45-46.

⁸ Orr died on May 5, 1873. Three days before, he reported to the Department of State on Russian attempts to gain possession of Sakhalin from the Japanese. Orr to Fish, St. Petersburg, May 2, 1873. *FR*, II, 783.

warriors, statesmen, judges, sculptors, painters, poets and divines, all sleep in one grand charnel house. Many of the monuments are very costly, others tasteful, others simple. I was more impressed with the monument to Lord Mansfield⁹ than any other; but I can't undertake to give you a description. I went thence to West Minister Hall, and the two Houses of Parliament. Through the kindness of Mr. Schenck,¹⁰ our Minister, I was introduced into the House, and saw the bodies in session. I saw Gladstone and Disraeli, chiefs of the rival parties,¹¹ there being no discussion of interest, we then proceeded to the House of Lords. We took our position on the floor, in the rear of the Lord Chancellor, who still wears his powdered wig, sits upon the veritable Wool Sack,¹² and occupies the lowest seat in the House, the members all being elevated on seats running off longitudinally with the hall, they having neither chairs nor desks, only cushioned benches, covered with a sort of red cloth.

I heard the debate in the House of Lords. Both bodies were made up of a very good looking set of men, and the order was much better than what I had anticipated from what I heard. We went down the Thames on a little steamer to West Minister Bridge, to London Bridge, and saw all those magnificent structures spanning the river. We went thence to the Tower, where we saw the cells of Walter Raleigh, Lady Jane Gray . . . and other great State prisoners. . . .¹³

We left London, and went by rail to Dover, thence we crossed over the straights of Dover to Calais. . . .

We reached Paris after dark and first saw part of it . . . and the hotel by gas light. Paris is by far the handsomest city I have seen

⁹ William Murray, first earl of Mansfield (1705-1793), a prominent judge cited by Blackstone. See *DNB*.

¹⁰ Robert Cumming Schenck (1809-1890), United States minister to Great Britain, 1871 to 1876. See *DAB*.

¹¹ Less than a week before (March 12) this letter was written, Gladstone was defeated on his Irish University Bill and on March 13 tendered his resignation as Prime Minister. But he resumed office on March 18 after Disraeli had refused the Queen's invitation to form a new government. Orr was undoubtedly well aware of the intense rivalry between the two men and expected to see the two rivals in action. See John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (London, 1906), II, 54ff; Philip Magnus, *Gladstone. A Biography* (London, 1954), 224-25.

¹² The Lord Chancellor, who exercises the prerogative of the crown in presiding over the House of Lords, is by tradition obliged to sit on the "woolsack." It is the symbol of his office and a reminder to him of his duty in the past to protect the interests of the important wool trade.

¹³ Omitted here is Orr's mention of a number of conventional tourist sites of London.

in Europe, its broad elders planted out generally in three rows of luxuriant shade trees, making what they call the boulevards. The conduct of the Commune¹⁴ while in possession of the city was vandalic beyond description or imagination. The [Tuileries] on two of its sides is supported by magnificent columns, interspersed, every few feet, [which] made it one of the most impressive structures in the world. They applied the torch and by dint and perseverance they succeeded in reducing it to blackened ruins. They also burned part of the Louvre. The other part, which is filled with an immense collection of statuary and paintings and etc., they failed to burn because it was fireproof. They also burned the Hotel de Ville, a very large building, in which was located during the [Second] Empire the offices of War, Marine, Finance, Foreign [Affairs], etc.¹⁵

They could not burn the Column Vendome, but blew it up and its base is a pitiful ruin, rising only 15 or 20 feet above the street. Many other buildings and monuments were destroyed but these were the most conspicuous, and still Paris seems to have not only survived shells, war, pestilence and taxes, and is gay, as bright, as active as it ever was. The Triumphal Arch of the elder Napoleon, which is covered with statues, inscriptions, designs of battles etc., was spared by the mob. I went out to Fontainebleau and saw the palace [where] the elder Napoleon made his abdication.

The soil of France appears to me to be better than that of England or Germany and I thought in a higher state of cultivation. The farms are very small, many not exceeding an acre, and a furrow, not a fence, marks the dividing line between the holders. I did not see a field in England or Germany or France, enclosed by a fence. All people are required to keep up their stock, and if they graze them, they must have herdsmen to protect their stock. If the farmers in these three empires were required to fence their land it would absolutely bankrupt them. In western Germany the land, where it was level, was rich, and I was surprised, in travelling from Cologne to Cassel to see such a large number of furnaces, forges and foundries, with inexhaustible supplies

¹⁴ The Paris Commune, organized on March 26, 1871, by a committee of revolutionaries seized control of most of the city. The result was a bloody civil war in which the army of the Assembly crushed the Communards and reconquered Paris by the end of May, 1871. In desperation, the Communards set fire to the Tuileries, the Palais de Justice, and the Hôtel de Ville. Cf. D. W. Brogan, *France under the Republic. The Development of Modern France (1870-1939)* (New York and London, 1940), 55ff.

¹⁵ Governor Orr was misinformed on this point.

of coal. I left Mary at school at Weimar, as also Miss Fannie Goodman, (she is the eldest daughter of Sallie Trumpett, who resided at Mrs. Debreles [?], in Columbia, and is now about 17. Her father and mother live in Brooklyn, and she joined Mary promptly, in New York). Weimar is the seat of the empire of [the] Grand Duke Saxe Weimar¹⁶ and the female school is under the direct care and patronage of the Grand Duke and his wife. I was much mistaken in supposing that schools are cheap in Germany. The expenses of the girls will exceed 500.00 [dollars] each.

Weimar has a very refined German population. It was the home, and is the grave of Schiller, Goethe, Wieland, and others, who were great German poets. We came thence to Berlin, and Lawrence witnessed the opening of the German parliament and saw king William,¹⁷ the Crown Prince, Bismark, Von Moltke¹⁸, Von Roone¹⁹ and others of less note. I was not well that day, and missed the sight, which I regret. From Berlin, we had a long travel of 44 hours, but the cars were kept very comfortable, and I slept well each of the nights we were out. This is a great city. Has over 600000 inhabitants and nearly all of its provisions, including butter and eggs, are brought from Moscow, 400 miles [away], and beyond.

I was introduced to Prince Gortchakoff,²⁰ on Monday, to know when I could have an interview with the Emperor, to present my credentials.²¹ He informed me that the Emperor would receive me at 1 1/2 o'clock on Tuesday,²² at which hour I was ushered into his presence [and] was introduced to him. I made a short speech, [and] to most of the sentences, he [made] favorable replies. We then entered into a general

¹⁶ Charles August (1844-1894), of the Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach house, was Grand Duke at this time.

¹⁷ William I, (1797-1888), king of Prussia (1861-1888) and emperor of Germany (1871-1888).

¹⁸ Architect of the German victory in the Franco-Prussian War and chief of staff of the Imperial German army.

¹⁹ Minister of War for the kingdom of Prussia and the German Empire from 1859 to 1873.

²⁰ Minister of foreign affairs since 1856 and later chancellor of the Russian Empire. In 1873, he was at the height of his power and influence.

²¹ Orr arrived in St. Petersburg on March 15 and on March 17 was received by Gorchakov, who, as "a special compliment", arranged for an audience with the Emperor Alexander II on the following day. Eugene Schuyler, *Chargé d'affairs*, to Fish, St. Petersburg, March 18, 1873. *FR*, II, 781-82.

²² March 18, 1873. See Orr to Fish, St. Petersburg, March 18, 1873. *Ibid.*, 782.

conversation, about the visit of the Grand Duke Alexis to America.²³ I was favorably impressed with the Emperor.²⁴ The interview lasted 15 or 20 minutes. He is a man of good presence, fine manners and excellent address. He speaks English with tolerable fluency. His palace is the largest in the world.²⁵ The fronts exceed 700 feet each, and you will be surprised when I tell you that there had been introduced into the place an elevator to facilitate ascent and descent from the lower floor. The public buildings compare with any in Europe. Some of the churches here are most elegant. The Church of [St.] Isaac²⁶ standing in the open square just in front of our hotel [has a] large center dome [which] looks like it was burnished with gold. It is said to have cost 80 millions of roubles. A rouble is 71 cents. I have heard others estimate the cost at not more than 35 million dollars.

The Russians have determined to declare war on the Khivans, who seem as great outlaws as our Comanches. Their troops are already moving to the centre of [the] war. It [Khiva] is a very contemptible [state] and if the Russians find and run them down their conquest will be easy.²⁷

Lawrence is with me here and does all my writing. I find him company and a great comfort to me, especially in the absence of other members of the family. But I must bring this long communication to a close.

I will be glad if [you] could allow Sister Jane²⁸ and brother Harvey²⁹ to peruse it when you get through, as I have not the time to

²³ The conversation centered mainly about the Catacazy affair and the reception accorded the Grand Duke Alexis during his tour of the United States. Orr reported that the Emperor considered the kindness of the American public to Alexis "a manifestation of friendship and respect to the Russian government [as the] old and most steadfast friend [of the United States] in Europe." Orr to Fish, St. Petersburg, March 18, 1873. *Ibid.* On this triumphal visit, 1871-1872, see Albert Parry, "A Grand Duke comes to America," *The American Mercury*, LXVII (September 1948), 334-41.

²⁴ On the character and personality of Alexander II (1855-1881), see Stephen Graham, *Tsar of Freedom. The Life and Reign of Alexander II* (New Haven, 1935), 19-20, 25-26, 66ff, 235-36.

²⁵ The Peterhof Palace at Tsarskoe Selo.

²⁶ The Cathedral of St. Isaac is a "wealth of mosaics and marble," noted for the colossal size of its pillars. Paul Miliukov, *Outlines of Russian Culture* (Philadelphia, 1948), Part III, 25.

²⁷ Khiva was conquered in the spring of 1873 and made a Russian protectorate. Cf. Michael T. Florinsky, *Russia. A History and an Interpretation* (New York, 1953), II, 981.

²⁸ Jane S. Orr, the wife of W. H. Calhoun of Mississippi and a niece by marriage of John C. Calhoun.

²⁹ Dr. Harvey C. Orr, eminent physician of Lee county, Mississippi.

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write to them. Do write to me and give me all of the family news particularly. When you write, address [me] as Minister to Russia, at St. Petersburg, then put that in another envelope, addressed to "Department of State," Washington, D. C., and it comes free of postage. My health is improved since I left home, tho' I am now troubled with a cough that somewhat annoys me. Give my love to Cornelia and the girls.²⁰

Your Affectionate Brother,

JAMES L. ORR

²⁰ Cornelia Van de Graff, second wife of Judge Orr.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SCHIRMER DIARY, 1860

(Continued from July)

April 23. Convention. The great expected democratic Convention commenced its session this morning in Institute Hall, Nothing as large a number here as was anticipated, the Hotel Keepers have been most awfully disappointed in their expectation of Gain.

May 7. This morning's paper gives us the news of an awful accident near Camden when 27 Young Persons were drowned most of them Young Ladies, they went out on a marooning party.

September 8. Yellow fever. The past week there has been some newspaper controversy about its existence. The Bill of Mortality reports 2 deaths. . . .

October 10. Steamer Planter. A trial trip this afternoon. She was built by Jones for Capt. Ferguson for the Pedee river.

November 7. Excitement. Today the excitement has been intense in Broad St in consequence of the supposed certainty of the Election of Lincoln to the Presidency of the U S. The Legislature is now in Session. The money Market is in a most awful State. . . . A Portion of the Federal Officers have resigned. Judge Magrath closed the court and sent up his resignation.

November 9. Excursion. Today the City Council of Savannah pd a visit to our City [to celebrate the opening of the railroad] . . . They were saluted by our Council and taken to the Mills house for a dinner. They were escorted by the Cadets and Washington L[ight] I[nfantry]

December 6. Convention. Today was the election for delegates for the purpose of the State Seceding, there were a large number of Characters anxious to hand their names down to Posterity as actors in this Southern drama. . . .

December 14. Bells rung most all day in commemoration of the evacuation of the British from Charleston and in the Evg a meeting at Institute Hall to Keep the Secession burning.

December 20. Convention. To day at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 1 O'C the ordinance of Secession was passed, it was announced by the firing of Guns, and ringing of Bells, and in the night Bonfires and music. Thus is the commencement of the dissolution of the Union that has been the Pride and Glory of the whole world. . . .

MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE CITY GAZETTE
AND COMMERCIAL DAILY ADVERTISER 1826

Compiled by INEZ H. GRIFFIN

(Continued from July)

Died in Derby, Connecticut on the 3d inst. Capt. Joseph Hull, aged 75, father of Com. Isaac Hull. (Friday, February 17.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of the late Mrs. Margaret Denoon, of her family, and of C. Douglas, are requested to attend the funeral of the former from the residence of the latter. This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock without further invitation. (Saturday, February 25.)

Married: On Wednesday Eve last, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Bowen, the Rev. Edward Thomas to Miss Jane M. Gaillard, eldest daughter of the Hon. Theodore Gaillard. (Monday February 27.)

Married—on the 25th January, in Nassau County (East Florida) Mr. Albert F. Roux of this city to Miss Sarah Starret, eldest daughter of the late Geo. Starret, Planter, deceased. (Wednesday, March 1.)

Obit. Departed this life on Sunday the 19th ult. Elizabeth Markey, infant daughter of John Markey of this city, aged 10 months and 10 days. (Wednesday, March 1.)

Yesterday's mail brought the melancholy intelligence of the death of the Hon. John Gaillard, Sen. in Congress from this state. He expired Sunday, 26th ult at 4 o'clock P.M. (Monday, March 6.)

The Friends and Acquaintances, Members of the Hibernian Society, St. Andrew's Society, are requested to attend the funeral of Mr. Thomas Malcom from his residence in Broad-street, This Morning, at half past nine o'clock. (Monday, March 13.)

The Friends and Acquaintances and Members of the Charleston Mechanics Society of Mr. Henry Cross and of his brother Wm. Cross, are respectfully invited to attend the funeral of the former from the residence of Mr. W. Cross, No. 6 Beaufain-street, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock without further invitation (Wednesday, March 15.)

Died at Mobile, on Sunday, the 26th ult. in the 52d year of her age, Mrs. Alice Ann Bates, consort of Joseph Bates, Esq. of that place. Mrs. Bates was a native of S. C. but for the last 25 years had resided in that neighborhood. (Saturday, March 18.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mrs. Mary Collins, her son John Collins, and those of William Holmes and Lady, are respectfully invited to attend the funeral of the former from her late residence, Hasell-street, This Morning, at 9 o'clock without further invitation. (Friday, March 31.)

Died on the 4th inst. at his residence at May River (S. C.) Dr. Samuel Fairchild, in the 60th year of his age. (Friday, April 7.)

Married—on Sunday, the 2nd inst by the Rev. Geo. Segrace, Mr. Walter G. Sikes of Charleston to Miss Catherine, daughter of Thos. Kennerly, Esq., Planter of Barnwell District. (Saturday, April 8.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. Robert Hendry are requested to attend his funeral, This Afternoon, at 5 o'clock, precisely, from the residence of A. F. Cunningham, 58 State-street. (Saturday, April 8.)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mrs. Florence Righton are invited to attend her funeral from her late residence No. 81 East Bay, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock (Monday, April 10.)

Died on the 12th inst. near Statesburg at "Marden," the residence of his father, Wilson Waties, Esq., aged 23 years. On the 20th inst at his residence, in Newberry District, Mr. Walter Goodman in the 76th year of his age. (Friday, April 14.)

Another Revolutionary hero gone. Died at his residence in Hall County, Ga. on the 13th of December last of an eating cancer, Joseph M'Clehin, Esq. in the 73d year of his age. He was a native soldier of the Revolution. (Saturday, April 15.)

Died on Wednesday morning at Bridgeport, Conn. the Hon Pierpont Edwards, District Judge of the U. S. for the District of Conn. He was born in Northampton, Mass. in April 1750, was the youngest and last surviving child of the celebrated Jonathan Edwards. N.Y. *Eve. Post.* 8th inst. (Monday, April 17.)

Married on Tuesday Eve. the 18th inst. by the Rev. Dr. Dalcho, Thos. D. Condry, Esq. to Jane Washington, eldest daughter of the late James Hasell Ancrum, Esq., all of this City. (Thursday, April 20.)

Married on the 6th inst. Mr. Benj. Stickney to Mrs. Clara Battersby of the Park Theatre, N. Y. (Tuesday, April 25.)

Died on the 10th inst. at Philadelphia, the Rev. John Banks, DD, a native of Stirling in Scotland, Pastor of the Associated Congregation in that city. (Tuesday, April 25.)

Died suddenly at Georgetown on Sunday Morning last Thos. Henning, Esq.

Died at Lexington, Ky. on the 10th of March Dr. Walter Warfield, aged 66. . . At the commencement of the American Revolution Dr. Warfield then a student of medicine under his late brother Dr. Charles A. Warfield of Elk Ridge, Md. At the age of 17 was appointed Surgeon's mate in the Maryland line and remained in army throughout the war. He was the surgeon who attended the venerable and brave Col. J. E. Howard when wounded in shoulder at Battle of Eutaw Springs. (Friday, April 28.)

Died in Mobile 28th March last, Mrs. Elizabeth Godfrey, consort of Wm. Godfrey, Esq. of Washington County, formerly of Marion District this state in the 45th year of her age.

In Wayne County (Miss.) on the 31st ult. in the 67 year of her age Mrs. Sarah Hand, a native of Marion District in this state but for many years resident in Alabama and Mississippi. (Saturday, April 29.)

Obit. Mrs. Mary Gaillard, consort of Capt. Peter Gaillard, departed this life Thursday, the 27th ult. in the 57th year of her age. An affectionate husband, two daughters, a sister and many friends deplore their loss. (Wednesday, May 3.)

The Friends, Acquaintances and Members of the several societies of which Mr. George Perman was a member, are requested to attend his funeral from his late residence, No. 63 East Bay, This Morning, at 9 o'clock. (Monday, May 8.)

The Members of the Charleston Bible Society, St. Andrews Society and the Friends and Acquaintances of Geo. Macaulay, Sen. are requested to attend his funeral from his late residence No. 96 Church street, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock. (Tuesday, May 9.)

Died on the 2d inst, at his residence in Prince William Parish, General John A. Cuthbert, in the 65th year of his age. (Monday, May 15.)

Died on board the ship *Milton*, three days after leaving this port, on his passage to Liverpool, George Low, Esq. of the firm of Low & Wallace of this city. His remains were conveyed to Liverpool by Capt. Webb. Savannah, Geo. 27th inst. (Saturday, May 27.)

Obit. Departed this life at his late residence in Church-street, on Monday the 8th inst. George Macaulay, Sen. formerly a merchant of this city in the 82d year of his age, Mr. Macaulay was born near Stornoway, in the Island of Lewis, one of the Western Islands of Scotland. At an early age he was invited to London by an uncle in affluent circumstances, who having no children of his own, was expected to do something for his young relation, but before he reached that place, his uncle died, willing his fortune to a more favored nephew and Mr. Macaulay found himself in London with few friends and slender resources except his own industry and integrity. . . . He determined to come to America, and arrived in Savannah, Ga. in 1772 and before the close of the war of the Revolution, moved to Charleston. As a merchant, Mr. Macaulay was distinguished for the strictest punctuality and honor. . . . When Mr. Macaulay first came to Charleston he attached himself to the Presbyterian Church of this city and elected an elder in 1792. . . . His children have lost one of the kindest and best of parents. . . . (Monday, May 29.)

(CORRECTION)

In the July issue the name *William Cudworth* erroneously appeared in the following notice: The Family and Acquaintances of *Mr. and Mrs. John Kennedy* are requested to attend the Funeral of the latter from her late residence, Butcher's Row, Cannonsborough, This Afternoon, at 4 o'clock . . . (Wednesday, January 25.)

Mr. Cudworth's death was reported in the notice of Tuesday, January 31.

NOTES AND REVIEWS *

Charleston's Sons of Liberty: A Study of the Artisans, 1763-1789, by Richard Walsh. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959. Pp. xii, 166. Illustrations, index. \$4.25.)

There is some discrepancy between the title and the contents of this book, for all the artisans were not Sons of Liberty. A good many, as the author himself shows, were Loyalists. Yet the title is still a good one, for the author wants to prove primarily that the hard core of the Sons of Liberty were mechanics.

The first chapter defines and describes the mechanic class of colonial Charles Town as a group distinct from the merchants and the planters. The remaining four chapters present a history of the mechanic class before, during, and after the Revolution.

This book is based on an exhaustive study of the newspapers, wills, and court records of the period. The most interesting new information comes from the petitions of the mechanics which can be found in the legislative papers in the South Carolina Archives and from the records of the Fellowship Society. Scarcely any letters written or received by mechanics now remain. The works of Milby Burton on Charleston furniture and silversmiths have also been used.

Dr. Walsh's theme is that the mechanics were a distinct group, highly organized, and led by their own leaders—that their story can be followed and that they were consistently in the forefront of the move for independence. Before the Revolution the mechanics cooperated with the planters; after the Revolution they cooperated with the merchants and lawyers. They were behind the organization of the new city government in 1783 and behind the organization of the new federal government in 1787.

This book is of interest because it fits into a trend in American historiography which sees more and more democracy in the eighteenth century. In this instance the argument is pushed a bit beyond the facts. It is true that Daniel Cannon, William Johnson, Tunis Tebout, and others were leaders of the mechanics; but they were never as powerful as Gadsden, Lynch, and MacKenzie, who were described by Bull in 1770

* This department will print queries not exceeding fifty words from members of the Society. The charge to non-members is one dollar for fifty words or less. Copy should be sent to The Secretary, Fireproof Building, Charleston 5, S. C., at least three months in advance of publication.

as the leaders of the people and who were certainly men of the merchant-planter class. The author describes Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and Edward Rutledge, the men who represented South Carolina in the first Continental Congress, as "a mechanic-planter delegation" and then after examining this group finds that "the planters held a majority." Gadsden and Lynch were thereby counted as mechanics!

The theme is also pushed too far in the discussion of the events of 1783. The town was incorporated in that year not at the bequest of the mechanics but at the desire of the great merchants and planters who wanted to control the mob.

There are a number of points of special interest. The Townshend duties on paint, lead, glass, paper, and tea did seem to bear, as the author points out, particularly heavily upon the painters, glaziers, and printers who used these materials. The Townshend duties therefore were largely responsible for driving the mechanics into the revolutionary movement. The reader would like to know a great deal more about the John Wilkes Society, which was an obvious link between the American and English radical movements. The reader would also like to know something more about how the successful mechanics moved up into the planter class as many of them did. When Daniel Cannon, William Johnson, and Anthony Toomer attended the Ratification Convention in 1788, they may have already passed beyond the ranks of the mechanics. This may explain their votes in favor of the Constitution.

The artisans' signs which adorn the cover and intersperse the text are an attractive feature of the book.

GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.

University of South Carolina

Eleven Gentlemen of Charleston: Founders of the Supreme Council, Mother Council of the World, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, by Ray Baker Harris. (Washington, D. C., 1959. Pp. 70. Illustrations.)

Proposing a larger and more inclusive work on the history of the Supreme Council from 1801 to the present time, the Council has produced through the skill of Ray Baker Harris, an honorary member and librarian of the Council, a pleasing study of the present knowledge of the lives and accomplishments of the original founders. While previous to the efforts of Mr. Harris in securing information on the Founders, available material was fragmentary and much of it unconfirmed, the

author has succeeded in securing much data concerning the group which was responsible for the establishment of the Supreme Council in Charleston. The present publication is produced now partly in the hope that it may invite additional information and lead to closer completion of a fuller book.

Biographical sketches are given of the eleven founders: Israel De Lieben, John Mitchell, Thomas Bartholomew Bowen, Abraham Alexander, Jean Baptiste Marie delaHogue, Moses Clava Levy, Emanuel de la Motta, Alexandre Francois Auguste de Grasse, James Moultrie, Isaac Auld, and Frederick Dalcho. Of these, James Moultrie alone was a native of Carolina. Auld, Moultrie, and Dalcho were physicians.

The biographies give information on the Masonic activities as well as the general affairs of the subjects. The illustrations include a number of portraits and documents and also an artist's conception of the appearance of the building in which the Supreme Council was opened, on the corner of Broad and Church Streets, where the Citizens & Southern Bank now stands. A number of extant houses in which some of the founders lived are also shown. The whole format of the book is most pleasing.

The biographical material on the eleven founders seems quite full. It is to be hoped that the additional material necessary will soon be forthcoming for the completion of this desirable project.

J. I. WARING

We note with interest and pleasure the new edition of *A Charleston Sketchbook 1796-1806* by Charles Fraser, published for the Carolina Art Association by the Charles E. Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont (\$3.75). The forty watercolor drawings of Charleston and the surrounding country, including plantation residences and parish churches, are sketched with "such life and exactness as to perpetuate many a scene" of which there is no trace today. The drawings are reproduced here by offset in full color from new plates prepared especially for this edition.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Our Kin. By W. H. Manning, Jr., and Edna A. Manning. (Published by the authors, P. O. Box 382, Barnwell, S. C., 1958. Pp. 1601, Illustrations, index.)

Old Ninety Six, Star Fort and Cambridge. By Louise M. Watson. (Greenwood: Greenwood County Historical Society, 1960. Pp. 51. Illustrations, index.)

General John Glover and His Marblehead Mariners. By George Athan Billias. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1960. Pp. xii, 243. Illustrations, notes, index. \$5.50.)

Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life. By Stanley M. Elkins. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959. Pp. viii, 248. Index. \$4.50.)

James Forte. Edited by Cornelius M. D. Thomas. (Wilmington, N. C.: The Charles Towne Preservation Trust, 1959. Pp. xi, 59. Illustrations, maps. First edition, \$5.00; Azalea Edition, \$10.00.)

James Sprunt's Tales of the Cape Fear Blockade. Edited by Cornelius M. D. Thomas. (Wilmington, N. C.: The Charles Towne Preservation Trust, 1960. Pp. xii, 131. Illustrations, index. \$5.00.)

THE SOCIETY

The Society has received two valuable collections: from the Bacot family, a large number of letters, genealogical notes, pamphlets, and miscellany; from Mr. Beverly M. Middleton, a group of letters, 1745-1863, primarily of the Pinckney family, including a number of Charles Cotesworth and Thomas Pinckney items. It has also received a significant addition to its Revolutionary holdings: a manuscript volume from the library of the late Eugene P. Jervey containing general orders by Gen. Moultrie (15 May-27 September, 1779) and by Gen. Lincoln (6 November-31 December, 1779).

Col. Alston Deas has recently presented the Society two early manuscript items: a directive (10 October, 1681) to Capt. Anthony Crow, Commander of his Majesty's yacht, the *Kitchen*, by the Commissioners for Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of England relative to the transportation and provisioning of "Sir Thomas Lynch's retinue" from [Greenwich] to the Spithead; an unbound volume, the *Kitchen Yacht's Victualing Book* (6 June-21 September, 1687). The latter contains eight pages of names of passengers who were "Victualled . . . at Whole Allowances, pursuant to his Ma'ties Order by [letter] from Mr. Secretary Pepys of the 16 of August last . . .". Also received from Col. Deas were a circular of St. Philip's congregation relative to the recent destruction of that church by fire, and Thomas Pinckney Alston's title to "Pew No. 31" in All Saints' Parish (1846).

Among other accessions are a group of business letters and bills of exchange between George Keith, Charleston, and George Mitchell, London (1811-1814), gift of Sir Walter Mercer, Edinburgh; from Thomas

G. Peyton of Williamsburg, Va., papers relating to the business affairs of David Ramsay (1800-1817), including an agreement between Robert Y. Hayne, Thomas C. Fay, and H. T. and J. Crumpton for selling subscriptions to Ramsay's *History of the United States*; a stock certificate of the C. S. A. from E. L. Trenholm, Sarasota, Fla. Miss Josephine Roach of Washington has presented a manuscript genealogical item formerly on deposit—a "Birth Brief" attesting to the descent of the Colberts (Cuthberts). This copy of the original 1686 document was apparently executed in 1782, the date inscribed beneath the arms appearing on the first page.

Additions to the Society's genealogical files have been made on the following families; DuBose, Hurlbert, Pringle, Cooper, Gignilliat, Folger, and Wilson; the donors of the above are, respectively, Mrs. Guthrie Welborne Woodham, Sr., Mrs. Azilee Tyler, Mrs. W. S. FitzSimons, Adlai R. Yates, Charles Gignilliat, Jr., Walter W. Folger, Mrs. Leola Wilson Konopa and Mrs. Jenkins Dowling Harper Baskin. Miss Alicia Rhett has presented a copy of the Rhett arms and Mr. William Mason Smith, copies of the Huger chart. Bound typescripts have been received of the Hicks, Pegues, and related families (gift of Russell Cross); of the Dowling family (gift of Mrs. Baskin), and of the Broyles, Laffitte, and Boyd families (gift of Dr. Laffitte Boyd). Miss Sadie Wagner has donated material on the Wagner family, including several manuscript items.

The Charles Towne Preservation Trust, Wilmington, N. C., has presented, in addition to copies of its recent publications, a copy of the following maps of the Cape Fear: the Shapley map of 1662, the Lancaster map of 1679, and a map showing principal Confederate fortifications.

The Society held a plantation-church tour on April 3 to raise funds for needed equipment. Approximately two hundred members and guests attended. The itinerary included visits to Pompon Hill Chapel, the Church of St. Thomas and St. Denis, Cainhoy Plantation, Snee Farm, and the Blessing.

REQUESTS FOR INFORMATION

Mrs. Russell A. Lewis, 665 East North 20th Street, Abilene, Texas, wishes data on John Cooner and wife Mary. Children: John, Jr., Mary, Jr., and Melker (Melchoir), all mentioned in will of George Carter of lower Richland County, probated Sept. 24, 1804. Mary, Sr., is desig-

nated as sister to Carter's wife; they may have been daughters of William Fox.

Mrs. V. D. Glover, 720 South Atlantic Ave., Daytona Beach, Fla., would like to exchange information relating to the descendants of Henry Jernegan, born in England, who married Phebe Hayes(?) and died in 1736 in N. C. Henry Jernigan, Jr., married Ann Needham (or Bryan); his will probated in Craven County, S. C., 1762, named Needham and Hardy Rice Jernegan as sons. Needham married Mary Saunders.

William Boyce White, Jr., 129 Elizabeth Lane, Rock Hill, S. C., is searching for material on (1) Dr. Robert Wharry (Wherry), surgeon's mate of the First Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line, member of the South Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, and resident of Charleston County until his death in 1790; and (2) the Rev. Dr. Thomas Mills, rector of St. Andrew's Church, Charleston, before moving to the Up Country in 1816. Mr. White is especially interested in learning the Doctor's date of death, place of burial, and immediate descendants of the next generation.

Mrs. H. Arthur Smith wishes information relating to her great-grandfather, William Pringle (d. c. 1840) and his wife (a Chandler), and their ancestors. Their son Edwin Decatur Pringle married Ellen Riley of Charleston in 1851 and later moved with three sons to south Georgia (Thomasville or vicinity). Mrs. Smith is also interested in the ancestry, wife, and descendants of Aaron Smith, whose son Aaron P. Smith married Mary Ferguson and moved to Fla. Aaron, Sr., and most of his family are thought to have been massacred by Indians in 1776 in South Carolina. Write: 305 E. Madison Ave., Athens, Tenn.

Descendants of the Broyles, Laffitte, and Boyd families may obtain, for the cost of handling and mailing, a copy of material compiled on these lines by Dr. Montague Laffitte Boyd. Address: 2560 Habersham Rd., N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

Mrs. Leola Wilson Konopa, 1909 Ashby Road, Columbia, requests information on the parents and descendants of Augustin Wilson, born 1755, Lunenburg County, Va. He lived in Dobbs (now Greene) Co., N. C., Sumter Co., S. C., Washington Co., Ga., then moved to Darlington Co., S. C., where he died, 1847. Children: Theodosia (m. Gibson), Polly, John, Rhoda (m. Baker), and Nancy (m. Brand). Grandchildren include: Augustin, Thomas J., Caroline, and John O. Wilson; Augustin Wilson Baker, William Turnage, Francis Brand. According to estate settlement, the family Bible was sold to "E. Jordan," not yet located.

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